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**CONTEMPORARY MUSICAL EXPRESSION IN ANGLICAN CHURCHES**  
**OF THE DIOCESE OF CAPE TOWN:**  
**DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE LITURGICAL, THEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS**  
**OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

by

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Thesis presented for the degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy (Musicology)**

South African College of Music, Faculty of Humanities

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## Declaration

I hereby declare that “Contemporary Musical Expression in Anglican in Churches of the Diocese of Cape Town: Developments since the Liturgical, Theological and Social Revolutions of the Twentieth Century” is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Andrew-John Bethke

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

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## Abstract

The broader purpose of this study is to investigate musical change in relation to theological and liturgical change. The particular focus of this thesis is to explore the link between liturgical revision and musical development in the Diocese of Cape Town, South Africa, between 1964 and 2010. This doctorate is situated in musicology but also embraces features of liturgical theology. Le Huray's account of musical change during the Reformation, in *Music and the Reformation in England 1549 – 1660* (Cambridge, 1978), served as a model on which to view contemporary developments. Pass' definitions of the role of music in church (*kerygmatic*, *koinoniac* and *leitourgic*), contained in *Music and the Church* (Nashville, 1989), have also been used as a basis for the study. Additionally, the author developed a series of terms to distinguish the relationship between musical and liturgical change.

Part one investigates the dialogue between Anglican theology, liturgy and music. The model of analysis takes theology and politics into account. Part two deals specifically with liturgical and musical developments, with reference to the Diocese of Cape Town. The historical development of the South African Anglican Eucharistic Rite and its musical tradition are discussed in detail. Part three documents the current musical situation in parish churches.

The data were collected from the Anglican Archives in Johannesburg; personal interviews; a survey of liturgical music in parishes; church newspapers and parish visitations. From these sources it was clear that before the 1970's, Anglican music was broadly homogenous from parish to parish, but the contemporary situation is markedly diverse. Liturgical change was influenced by international liturgical scholarship; ecumenism; the charismatic renewal; Afro-Anglican theology; apartheid; and the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church. These trends in liturgical revision have had a marked effect on styles of music presented in individual parishes and schools.

The main question posed by this thesis is: "Did theological and liturgical change directly precipitate the rich variety of musical styles found in parishes today?" The answer is a qualified "yes". Indeed, changing theological emphases and the liturgical revolution have definitely affected music in worship. However, social factors outside of the church have played an equally important role in the church music revolution.



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- My parents, brother, friends and colleagues for their continuous support and encouragement.





## List of Abbreviations

ACCM	Archbishops' Commission on Church Music
ACSA	Anglican Church of Southern Africa
AF	Proposed Alternative Forms of the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Holy Communion (1969)
AM	Hymns Ancient and Modern 1860
AMNS	Hymns Ancient and Modern (New Standard)
AMR	Hymns Ancient and Modern (Revised)
APB	An Anglican Prayer Book 1989
AWF	Anglican Women's Fellowship
BCP 1549	Book of Common Prayer 1549
BCP 1552	Book of Common Prayer 1552
BCP 1559	Book of Common Prayer 1559
BCP 1662	Book of Common Prayer 1662
CMS	Christian Men's Society
CPSA	Church of the Province of Southern Africa
CSI	Church of South India, Liturgy of
CSL	Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy
ELLC	English Language Liturgical Consultation
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IALC	International Anglican Liturgical Consultation
ICET	International Consultation on English Texts
L75	Liturgy 1975
LA	A Liturgy for Africa
RSCM	Royal School of Church Music
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACLA	South African Christian Leadership Assembly
SAPB	Book of Common Prayer - South Africa 1954
SOF	Songs of Fellowship
SPCK	Societies for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
USA	United States of America
WCC	World Council of Churches



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## Chapter One

### Introduction

[To] the enquirer who is interested in the religious arts as a reflection of society, the local church, serving a small self-contained community, may be a... rewarding field of study.<sup>1</sup>

The Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA) has been characterised as a colonial church through much of its existence;<sup>2</sup> particularly in the areas of polity, liturgy and music. However, during the latter half of the twentieth century the church became increasingly interested in representing the interests of the local people and their pluralistic culture. The indigenisation of ACSA's hierarchy;<sup>3</sup> liturgical renewal in the worldwide Anglican Communion; and Afro-Anglicanisation<sup>4</sup> contributed to this interest. In 1989, after much preparation, a new prayer book was introduced to the Province. The Anglican concept of *via media*<sup>5</sup> was a guiding principle in the formulation of this book, and as a consequence it allowed much interpretational freedom. Such freedom has had a marked effect on music in parishes across the sub-continent.

#### Aim

The axiom *lex orandi, lex credendi*,<sup>6</sup> often quoted by Anglican scholars, suggests that the heart of Anglicanism is worship. Throughout the four hundred and fifty year history of the Anglican Church, the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP) has shaped patterns of worship and become a benchmark for doctrine.<sup>7</sup> In essence, liturgy has become the hallmark of Anglicanism. However, the theological

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<sup>1</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pato, "Anglicanism and Africanisation", 49.

<sup>3</sup> ACSA's first locally born bishop (1957), and later Archbishop (1975), was Bill Burnett. The Province's first black bishop, Alpheus Zulu, was elected in 1960. See Burnett, *The Rock that is Higher than I*, 127 and 155.

<sup>4</sup> Pobee discusses Afro-Anglicanism at length in "Non-Anglo-Saxon Anglicanism".

<sup>5</sup> A Latin phrase meaning, "compromise or middle way between two extremes". See WordNet Search 3.0 [<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu>]. Anglican theologians often use this phrase to describe Anglicanism's tendency to hold many theological ideas in balance.

<sup>6</sup> A Latin phrase meaning, "the rule of prayer is the rule of belief".

<sup>7</sup> Lutherans have clear teachings through Martin Luther (1483 - 1546), likewise Calvinists refer to John Calvin's (1509 - 1564) writings. The closest Anglicanism comes to a theological tradition is in Richard Hooker's (1554 - 1600) *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593). However, his thoughts are not regarded as binding on Anglicans (see Haugaard, "From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century", 14). The only aspect of Anglicanism which has remained largely intact is the prayer book tradition and its distinct theological underpinning.

assumptions which underpin the BCP have been changing gradually since the mid nineteenth century and this has necessitated several revisions of the liturgy.<sup>8</sup>

The broader aim of this thesis is to explore the link between liturgical revision and changes in musical repertoire in the Diocese of Cape Town between 1964 and 2010. My research investigates the historical development of liturgy and music repertoires in the diocese and documents the current trends in parish music. This is achieved in a systematic way by examining the liturgical changes which have taken place in Anglicanism, and observing how musical repertoires and the roles of music have changed to accommodate these shifts. The study is divided into three sections: an introduction to Anglican liturgical and musical identity; an historical background to the liturgical and musical situation in the Diocese of Cape Town; and the contemporary musical situation in the diocese.

Although any liturgical celebration can be performed without music, many parishes cherish the splendour and devotion which it offers. Thus, music is not essential to Christian worship, but is certainly normative. Church music is often regarded as the handmaid of the liturgy.<sup>9</sup> While it is true that changes in liturgy frequently necessitate musical development, it can be equally argued that significant shifts in musical taste can dictate liturgical progress.<sup>10</sup> In other words, a significant change in either liturgy or music can affect the overall worship offering of the church. Furthermore, because music is a normative component of Anglican worship and is inextricably linked to liturgical use, any shift in theological thinking and liturgical practice could affect its fundamental role in worship. In order to establish the historical links between theology, liturgy and music, therefore, the first component of this thesis explores the Anglican ecclesiastical ethos and its liturgical development since its birth in the sixteenth century. My aim in this section has been to establish how theology, liturgy and music contribute to Anglican identity. This includes an examination of the evolution of Anglican liturgy and the English model of choral music.

Having established that theological shifts in Anglicanism affect liturgy and music, the study continues by answering the question, "What were the liturgical developments that affected worship in

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<sup>8</sup> Anglican liturgical reform in Britain was subject to parliamentary consent. Due to the conservative nature of British culture, liturgical revision was kept to a minimum (see chapter one in Beeson's *In Tuneful Accord*). However, Anglican provinces in the rest of the world were free to make appropriate changes where necessary.

<sup>9</sup> Today many parishes sing much of the Ordinary liturgy and music is often used to support and contribute to the liturgy, for example, processional organ voluntaries and fanfares at ordinations. Liturgical musicologists even argue that hymns and songs are Propers in liturgical enactments. The word "Proper" in this context is a liturgical fragment for a specific day of the church calendar. Its opposite is "Ordinary" which denotes the elements of the service which remain the same from day to day, such as the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. However, the word "Ordinary" only refers to invariable texts, not musical settings.

<sup>10</sup> For some examples of how music has affected the development of liturgy see Flynn, "Liturgical Music", 769.

Southern Africa?” The answer begins with an historical summary of music in the Diocese of Cape Town since its official inception in 1848 (the first time this has been done in any detail). Secondly, I present an historical introduction to liturgy in the context of ACSA. The primary focus of this section will be the influences which shaped *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* (APB). Thirdly, I wish to ascertain whether music was a consideration during the formulation of the current rites in APB.

The third section of the study begins by comparing the musical rubrics in the officially recognised prayer books in the Southern African Province<sup>11</sup>: *Book of Common Prayer 1662* (BCP), the *South African Prayer Book 1954* (SAPB) and *An Anglican Prayer Book*. Having scrutinised these rubrics, I offer an overall theological/musical perspective for each prayer book. The object of the three chapters which follow is to establish to what extent liturgical reform has caused the diverse musical repertoires one encounters presently in churches around the Diocese. Chapter seven addresses the changing role of music in parishes, assessing if this is related in any way to the theological changes in APB. Chapter eight discusses the musical resources available in the Diocese at present, and serves as a detailed introduction to chapter nine. The final chapter in this section documents the transformation of the repertoire in the Diocese as a response to the changing role of music. The core of this section is an analysis of contemporary trends in church music at parish and school level. It is in this segment of the study that data, collected through survey and field work, are compared with the findings of sections one and two. The following categories are scrutinised to determine whether theological and liturgical reform have affected music; church musicians; musical instruments used in worship; hymn/song books; normal parish repertoire; music budget; and the role of music in worship.

The conclusion summarises the study, comments on its findings and recommends further avenues for research.

## **Rationale**

Driven by an interest in liturgical musicology, I have designed a project which addresses both liturgy and music from an Anglican perspective. Three guiding principles were considerations in formulating a topic: an appropriate base and time period for research; the value to the wider Anglican Church; and the contribution to academic knowledge.

The Diocese of Cape Town is home to diverse cultures and a variety of liturgical practices. These characteristics make it an ideal base for my research. The diocese although relatively small

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<sup>11</sup> The administrative district, or Province, of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa includes South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lestho, St Helena and Ascension Island.

geographically and having the advantage of accessibility, nevertheless comprises fifty-one parishes and four schools. One of the advantages of concentrating on this area is that it includes a number of Anglican schools, all of which have active music programmes. The study is limited to the time period 1964 to 2010. 1964 marks the time when *A Liturgy for Africa* (LA)<sup>12</sup> was introduced into mainstream worship and musical repertoires began to change significantly. Allowing the research to include empirical data collected during 2009 and 2010 ensures that the results are thoroughly contemporary.

Roberta King notes, “Studies of music in the life of the African church suggest new ways to approach musical issues confronting the global church today.”<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the church can benefit from critical studies which analyse its worship.<sup>14</sup> This project provides an examination of current liturgical and musical dynamics at urban parish level. Additionally it assesses whether ACSA’s approach to music is viable or if it requires revitalisation. The dearth of locally composed music and the dwindling number of trained church musicians would suggest that ACSA needs to reconsider its attitude to music. My hope is that this thesis will promote lively discussion at diocesan and provincial level and perhaps stimulate a church-sponsored programme for ecclesiastical musicians.

King suggests another reason for studying African sacred music, “...the development of culturally appropriate and authentic music for local churches is of critical importance...”<sup>15</sup> Now that ACSA’s leadership is fully indigenised, movements towards Africanisation are stronger than ever before. The introduction of the APB was the first step in this continuous process. The Kanamai Statement, compiled by African Anglican hierarchy and laity in 1993, encourages “the use of local words and music to make worship more joyful and authentic... [particular attention] needs to be given to creative writing and composition.”<sup>16</sup> In one of the papers presented at Kanamai, a delegate asserted that, “[Music] is the most important area in [the] African Christian Church that needs indigenisation.”<sup>17</sup> My study assesses whether Africanisation is beginning to filter through to parishes and schools in the Diocese of Cape Town, but does not address musical authenticity.

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<sup>12</sup> *A Liturgy for Africa*, and all other prayer books mentioned hereafter, is referenced in the bibliography under heading “Prayer Books”.

<sup>13</sup> King, *Music in the Life of the African Church*, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Dom Gregory Dix’s (1901 - 1952) ground breaking work in liturgical scholarship is such an example. He criticised the Anglican liturgical heritage because it did not contain the four-fold Eucharistic pattern evident in early Christian liturgies (see Baldovin, “The Liturgical Movement and Its Consequences”, 253). His academic work led to extensive cross denominational liturgical revision.

<sup>15</sup> King, *Music in the Life of the African Church*, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Gitari, *Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa*, 40.

<sup>17</sup> Gitari, *Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa*, 27.

Academically this project provides original material in the disciplines of musicology and liturgiology. Liturgy in the Anglican context, as discussed above, is a practical realisation of theology. Thus, any study which includes research in liturgy is essentially a contribution to theology. This is certainly true in the case of this thesis. However, fundamentally this is an historical study which traces the development of liturgical and musical trends, rather than one which comments on theological underpinnings or nuances in the lyrics of sacred music. Furthermore, this thesis seeks to assess the liturgical contribution of Anglican Prayer Books to the musical worship of the church over the past one hundred and sixty years. No research of this nature has been conducted in South Africa to date.

On any given Sunday, congregations comprising members from all of South Africa's old system of racial classification meet together to worship. Even before the fall of apartheid this was the situation in a number of parishes. My study seeks to determine whether these multicultural encounters are beginning to affect the way liturgy is celebrated and if this, in turn, is affecting music., Africanisation has also therefore been a consideration.

It is self-evident that this study is influenced by academic routine and institutional norms. I approach the subject matter through the lenses of historical and musicological terms of reference. Hooper argues that musicology presupposes institutionalised discourse, which in itself cannot be totally 'objective'. He also questions the relevance of such discourse.<sup>18</sup> While I cannot argue that this study is completely objective, it is written in the hope that its conclusions may have a positive effect on the future of church music in Southern Africa, and also that it will promote further academic studies in the realm of South African liturgical music.

## Methodology

Primary source material related to liturgy and music within the diocese and Province is scarce at best, and non-existent at worst. Local Anglican parishes are not political and geographical consistencies as they are in Britain, and their records are not systematically recorded as government articles. Although there is a central archive for Anglican records in South Africa, many parishes do not send material for preservation. This makes it difficult to collect and analyse information. Often parishes themselves do not keep archives, and if they do, they are generally far from adequate for research purposes. Over and over again I enquired from parishes if they maintained archives which I could explore. Only one had a substantial collection of musical material. There are the occasional Anglican records in secular archives, but these are few and far between. I have made thorough searches of archives all around the country in search of pertinent information, and this is reflected in the

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<sup>18</sup> For the complete argument see chapters 1, 2 and 3 of Hooper, *The Discourse of Musicology*.

bibliography. A number of parishes have, however, published short histories for their local members. These little books often contain anecdotes which concern music or liturgy. With only these limited archival materials, it was essential for this research to rely heavily on live interviews with older members of the church, and those directly involved in liturgy and music within the diocese.

The archival side of the study involved three major exercises. Firstly, two trips to the archives of ACSA at the University of the Witwatersrand were found to be essential to access minutes related to the formulation of APB, as well as other supporting documents. While I was at the archives, I was able to comb through old editions of *Seek*, the Provincial newspaper, which carried articles concerning theology, liturgy and music. I also searched for any information concerning the musical life of the Diocese of Cape Town. It was necessary to find the minutes for the Liturgical Standing Committee (housed at CPSA Publishing House in Johannesburg) which authorised the prayer book, in order to establish the directives for its formulation.

Secondly, having scoured through these documents, I interviewed Bishop Michael Nuttall (the chairperson of the Liturgical Standing Committee which designed the prayer book), Rev. Cynthia Botha (a prominent member of the same committee) and Canon Ian Darby. The questions which I posed focused on the actual changes in liturgy and the rationale behind them, and were also directed towards any musical considerations which may have shaped certain rites.

Thirdly, a detailed survey was sent to parishes and Anglican schools to determine the trends in liturgy and music throughout the diocese. The survey was anonymous and addressed specifics concerning the demographics of each parish; its theological perspectives (Anglo-Catholic, Broad Church, Evangelical, etc.); the dominant liturgical use; the prevalent styles of music, as well as who chooses, rehearses and performs it. The questionnaire was based on a similar study commissioned by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in the late 1980's.<sup>19</sup> Although the survey revealed some interesting results, it was found to reflect only a partial view of the diocese as a whole. It was necessary, therefore, to analyse the musical life of a number of specific parishes with widely divergent theological, cultural and liturgical emphases. The parishes I studied at this level were: St George's Cathedral; St Michael and All Angels (Observatory); Christ Church (Kenilworth); St Cyprian's (Langa); and Diocesan College (Rondebosch).

### **Theoretical underpinning**

Establishing an appropriate technical method for analysing the links between liturgical and musical change has been difficult. Roman Catholic and Anglican theologians and musicians are the most

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<sup>19</sup> See *In Tune With Heaven*.

prolific commentators in the discipline of liturgical musicology. This is not surprising, since few other Western Christian denominations place so much emphasis on liturgical worship. However, in spite of the existence of several forms of analysis, I have found few contemporary authors who have focused primarily and in depth on musical change in relation to theological/liturgical change.

There is certainly no shortage of literature which addresses liturgy and music. Some of the greatest theologians of Christian history have offered their opinions on this matter. But there are far fewer contributions in the field of historical musicology. In general, few scholars appear to be interested in musical responses to liturgical change in the light of theological change. There are a few notable exceptions. One is Routley's *The Church and Music*. This study is an examination of how theological changes have influenced musical developments. However, Routley's analysis covers an expansive sweep of Christian traditions and only briefly focuses on Anglican music. Since all denominations are represented, specific liturgical changes are not examined in detail. Furthermore, the study is already more than forty years old and does not include the latest developments in theological discourse.

Le Huray's examination of *Music and the Reformation in England 1549 – 1660* does address liturgical change in significant depth. His model of analysis takes theology and politics into account and has been of particular assistance in forming a model for this study. Harper's *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* has been another useful guide. Although his treatment of Anglican Reformation liturgy and music is brief, it establishes a model which has also proved vital when designing an analytical approach to this study.<sup>20</sup> Note, however, that neither author deals with contemporary musical development.

Flynn's brief survey of patterns of change in liturgical music in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* has been more helpful to some extent.<sup>21</sup> He identifies three main responses. Firstly, the role of music within a rite can change when the liturgical priorities change. Secondly, since music and liturgy are so closely intertwined, certain musical forms can be created, rejected or adapted to complement liturgical requirements. The creation of the musical genre of Evening Canticles (pairing the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*) in Evensong is an example of this. Thirdly, major developments in musical culture (either secular or sacred) can necessitate liturgical change. These concepts are incorporated into chapters two and five of this thesis.

Liturgical change since the Reformation has been extremely slow in the Anglican Church. As a result, scholars of Anglican music have tended to focus purely on the progress of genres such as the anthem and office canticles. But the liturgical reforms of the late twentieth century have been similar in scale

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<sup>20</sup> See Harper, *Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 184 ff.

<sup>21</sup> See Flynn, "Liturgical Music", 769.



to those of the Reformation. Scholars have been reluctant to comment too soon on the musical effects of these changes.<sup>22</sup> Instead they have allowed the transformation to settle and develop adequately. In the last few years, a flood of Roman Catholic material has been appearing in response to Vatican II and in particular to the *Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy* (CSL). Forty years after the initial liturgical experiments began, the time is ripe to reflect critically upon these alterations and to assess the response of musicians to the challenge of change.

Roman Catholic critiques of liturgical reform and music tend to focus on the CSL and its interpretation, with particular reference to low musical standards in parishes and cathedrals. Sometimes they lament the apparent loss of traditional musical practices. Ruff's latest contribution to the field, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform*, focuses on the interpretation of paragraph 114 of CSL, in particular the word 'traditional'. He says that the "purpose of this investigation is to establish in what sense the employment of inherited music has historical roots in western musical culture and in what sense the use of inherited music can be seen as 'traditional'".<sup>23</sup> Schaefer's *Catholic Music Through the Ages* is more helpful in that it assesses the broad sweep of Roman Catholic music, noting especially musicians' responses to papal decrees regarding music. However, Schaefer is not analysing musical developments in relation to the liturgy, but how papal ideals have influenced musical trends. Anglicans have no central governing body which issues legal statements regarding the performance of liturgy or music - each Province and diocese is left to make these decisions locally.<sup>24</sup> Thus, although some terms of reference have been helpful, Schaefer's system is not wholly adequate for the purposes of this study.

In Dobszay's work<sup>25</sup> we find some interesting parallels to the Anglican liturgical tradition. Firstly, he suggests that the Roman Rite of the Catholic Church has been developing organically over several centuries. However, he argues that the post-Conciliar liturgy, designed under the guidance of Archbishop Bugnini, was a complete departure from the Roman Rite.<sup>26</sup> He also argues that the *Novus Ordo* does not follow the directions provided in the *Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy*.<sup>27</sup> Although the Anglican liturgy is not as old as the Roman Rite, it too has undergone organic modifications since its

<sup>22</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 315.

<sup>23</sup> Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform*, xiv.

<sup>24</sup> For example, in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, the corpus of hymnody is entirely in the hands of the bishop. See *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (Anglican)*, Canon 33, no. 4. See Appendix M.

<sup>25</sup> I have consulted two of Dobszay's works in this thesis: *The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite* and *The Bugnini-Liturgy and the Reform of the Reform*.

<sup>26</sup> In *The Bugnini Liturgy and the Reform of the Reform* Dobszay argues that it is closer in nature to neo-Gallican liturgies of the nineteenth century.

<sup>27</sup> Dobszay, *The Bugnini Liturgy and the Reform of the Reform*, 12.

inception in the sixteenth century (see chapter two). Secondly, the *moto proprio Summorum Pontificum*,<sup>28</sup> issued by Pope Benedict XVI discussing the 1962 Missal and *Novus Ordo*, has referred to “One rite, two forms”.<sup>29</sup> Dobszay disagrees with the Pope, suggesting that the *Novus Ordo* departs from the organic succession of Roman liturgical development and thus constitutes a completely un-Roman rite.<sup>30</sup> Newer Anglican rites, developed since the mid twentieth century, also break quite radically from the Anglican Common Prayer tradition of 1662. But, unlike the Catholics, some Anglican Provinces have allowed both ‘traditional’ and ‘contemporary’ rites to co-exist from the very beginning of the reforms, publishing them in one book.<sup>31</sup> In recent years Anglicanism, because of its insistence on the principle of *via media*, has chosen not to be dogmatic about ritual uniformity. This, along with other developments discussed during this thesis, has allowed Anglicanism to embrace a great variety of Uses under the banner of very broad guidelines (see chapter two). In Southern Africa, the vast majority of Anglicans adopted the newer rite, and after forty years it is well loved. Thus, as detailed as Dobszay’s work is, its exclusive focus on Roman Catholicism does not contribute significantly to this particular study.

It is evident, therefore, that little Roman Catholic material, related to liturgical musicology, is of value in creating a form of analysis, especially in relation to Anglican forms such as anthems and canticles.

Cultural studies, especially ethnomusicological studies, present a number of interesting methods of musical analysis in relation to cultural change. In fact, the disciplines of ethnomusicology and liturgiology often complement each other well. Most authors in this arena tend to discuss the changes that African communities experience musically as they mature. Krabill, for example, offers six stages of development from “importation” of foreign music to “indigenization” and “internationalization”.<sup>32</sup> Agawu is another scholar who has written extensively about the reception of European music in Africa.<sup>33</sup> The majority of his, and other African ethnomusicologists’ studies, tend to explore the effects of western missionary work on specific clans or tribes. This present study, however, documents the converse situation; namely, how the numerous cultures found in South Africa have stimulated organic transformation and adaptation in an existing colonial church

<sup>28</sup> On Saturday 7 July 2007 Pope Benedict XVI issued an Apostolic Letter on the celebration of the Roman Rite according to the Missal of 1962.

<sup>29</sup> Dobszay, *The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite*, 47.

<sup>30</sup> See chapter eight in Dobszay, *The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite*.

<sup>31</sup> The Episcopal Church in the United States has done this in their *Book of Common Prayer 1979*.

<sup>32</sup> Krabill, “Encounters”, 71 – 75.

<sup>33</sup> See Agawu’s *Representing African Music*.

structure. Much of the terminology discussed above, therefore, has not proved appropriate in this context, since it approaches the musical material from the reverse vantage point.

Unlike music theorists, who usually concentrate explicitly on musical texts, musicologists tend to adopt a far more integrated approach to their work. As a consequence, it is not unusual for musicologists to include the contexts which shape composers and audiences in their analyses of specific music genres. In this study it was necessary to include an introduction to Anglican theology and liturgy, focusing particularly on the open dialogue they share, and how they shape each other. For these sections I have drawn from theological and liturgical terminology. I have consciously used this vocabulary throughout the thesis, even in the musical sections, to highlight the ecclesiastical nature of this project.

Essentially this doctoral study is situated in the field of historical musicology, but it looks beyond the normal boundaries of the discipline to embrace certain features of ethnomusicology. This is not unusual in contemporary music studies. For example, Nicholas Cook argues that musicology and ethnomusicology have, in many respects, become complementary disciplines.<sup>34</sup> Certainly, the history of black Anglican church music, which is a small component of this study, is firmly in the realm of ethnomusicology. But, too often ethnomusicologists have steered clear of political history in their analyses. Bohlman has recently argued that ethnomusicological work would carry far more integrity if it included the political implications of colonialism and westernisation.<sup>35</sup> Agawu seems to espouse Bohlman's dictum, since his work investigates both contemporary and traditional African music within the African context. However, while this project does discuss music in the black church, and the effects of apartheid on the separate development of black Anglican music, it does not consciously attempt to analyse the effects of colonialism specifically. Rather, it seeks to show how black congregations have moulded the inherited colonial musical structures to suit their needs.

At this juncture it is important to ask if post-colonialism as a theoretical framework has anything to offer this study. Bhabra suggests that

Postcolonial approaches... work to challenge dominant narratives and to reconfigure them to provide more adequate categories of analysis, where accuracy is measured in terms of increasing inclusivity and is oriented 'backwards' as well as 'forwards'. By locating and establishing a voice for the hitherto voiceless within history and society, postcolonial theory seeks to resolve questions of inclusion and exclusion and to make transparent the relationship between knowledge and politics 'in the specific context of ... [a] study, the subject matter, and its historical circumstances'.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See Cook, "We are all (ethno)musicologists now".

<sup>35</sup> Bohlman, "Other Ethnomusicologies, Another Musicology", 96.

<sup>36</sup> Bhabra, *Rethinking Modernity*, 15 - 16.

Given this definition, this study does not self-consciously pursue these tenets. While the author does try to include the voiceless (hence the visits and numerous interviews), and to situate the work within the contextual history of the church and South Africa, he does not openly address issues such as authenticity in music-making and the negative impact of colonial Christianity on the music traditions of the Xhosa. As mentioned above, it attempts to document how indigenous cultures have influenced the colonial heritage of Anglicanism.

Musicologists often adopt anthropological terms to describe phenomena they find in their field of work, for example, “indigenisation”. Anthropological terms can cause problems in interpretation when working with musical repertoires. For example, Hellberg notes that using the word “indigenisation” can be problematic, especially “if its meaning is dependent on discerning what elements of a culture are truly indigenous.”<sup>37</sup> He prefers to use the term “localisation”.<sup>38</sup> Finding this word and its meaning helpful for the context of this thesis, I have used it throughout. Agawu favours terms such as “assimilation” or “adaptation” which are classically musicological.<sup>39</sup> I have chosen to incorporate aspects of this terminology in my own system of classification described below. Modern histories of liturgy and theology often include terms such as “inculturation”, “acculturation”, and “enculturation”<sup>40</sup> when assessing the impact of colonialism on the third world. However, since they display the same characteristics as the term “indigenisation” discussed above, such terms are not adequate for this study, especially since this is not a post-colonial research project. It has been necessary, therefore, to create a unique system especially for the chapters which focus on the development of music. Six responses to change have been identified for use in this thesis: Adaptation; Retention; Adoption; Invention; Integration; and Revival.

“Adaptation” refers to pre-existing music which is adapted to suit new conditions. During the English Reformation medieval psalm tones were adapted to be used in vernacular worship, i.e. Latin Psalms were translated into English, but the psalm tones remained largely intact.<sup>41</sup> “Retention” occurs when a sector of the public tenaciously preserves what they know and love, refusing to change. In modern times, some congregations have refused to introduce scriptural songs. They prefer to retain the older hymns, rejecting newer song collections altogether. “Adoption” is when communities or

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<sup>37</sup> Hellberg, “Why Localise a Church’s Music?”, 370.

<sup>38</sup> Hellberg provides Malm’s definition of “localisation”: “...taking a musical style that has been adopted from another culture closer to the culture it has newly become a part of, and giving it new meanings in the process” (Hellberg, “Why Localise a Church’s Music?”, 370).

<sup>39</sup> Both these terms are found in Agawu, *Representing African Music*, 5.

<sup>40</sup> “Acculturation” and “Enculturation” are both sociological terms. Osei-Bonsu provides a theological discussion surrounding these terms in *The Inculturation of Christianity in Africa*.

<sup>41</sup> Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 157 - 59.

individuals favour a musical genre from another denomination, faith or culture, and then adopt it into their own tradition. Sometimes communities are forced into using a style they would not usually choose for themselves. In connection with colonialism, this can also be called cultural imperialism.<sup>42</sup> In Africa this happened fairly frequently when missionaries translated western hymns into vernacular African languages and retained both the original metre and melody. Neither the thought patterns, nor the music were African.<sup>43</sup> It must be noted that although “adoption” appears to overlap with “adaptation”, it displays one extremely important difference. In the case of “adoption”, a musical tradition is imported to a place where the tradition did not exist before, as in the aforementioned western hymns in Africa. In contrast, “adaptation” assumes that an existing musical tradition is adapted for contemporary use in the same community. In other words the original inventors of the musical genre also adapt it. “Invention” is the opposite of “retention”. This is where forward-looking individuals or groups create a completely new musical genre to suit new conditions. The development of Morning and Evening services during the English Reformation is an example of “invention”. “Integration”<sup>44</sup> occurs when both older traditions and new inventions coexist and influence each other. In some instances the old and new genres converge to create something distinct. Where Anglicanism has travelled across the globe, “integration” has gradually become the norm. In other words, existing cultures have received the English music tradition and transformed it to make it their own. “Revival” sometimes occurs when it is found that an earlier generation’s contribution to music suits contemporary needs. For example, during the nineteenth century, Anglo-Catholics<sup>45</sup> discovered that hymnody had formed the basis of much early church worship. As a result, they began to translate the original Latin and Greek hymns for contemporary use, sometimes even retaining their original metres and tunes.<sup>46</sup> These six characteristics of Anglican musical change are not necessarily unique to Anglicanism, and it is probable that many denominations display similar trends.

In analysing the role of music in the church, I have adapted a model of church music devised by David Pass.<sup>47</sup> He argues that church music fulfils three separate theological functions within any act of worship: *kerygmatic*; *koinoniac*; and *leitourgic*. The benefit of this model is that it takes into account both the music and the content of the text it conveys. *Kerygmatic* music corresponds with

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<sup>42</sup> Kreider, “Introduction”, 10.

<sup>43</sup> Dargie, “Christian Music Among Africans”, 320 and Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, 37 - 49.

<sup>44</sup> Kreider, “Introduction”, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Anglo-Catholicism will be discussed in detail in chapter two. Briefly though, Anglo-Catholicism is a branch on Anglicanism which stresses the Catholic nature of the Church, rather than Protestant ideals.

<sup>46</sup> See chapter five in Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*.

<sup>47</sup> For a systematic discussion of Pass’ model of church music, see Pass, *Music and the Church* (particularly chapters two and five).

the church's mission to proclaim and educate. In essence, it is music which requires professional training to perform (as preaching requires prior theological education), is mono-directional (performed by an individual or specialised group for the congregation) and conveys a message of proclamation or education (in other words, the "word" is proclaimed). A choral anthem or a solo song are examples of *kerygmatic* music. *Koinoniac* music is designed to uplift the church community. Thus, it is easily learnt (it requires little, if any, musical training), it is omni-directional (everybody participates, everybody listens) and it conveys a message of communal unity and brotherhood. The hymn, "Brother, sister, let me serve you",<sup>48</sup> is an example of *Koinoniac* music. *Leitourgic* music is specifically crafted to fulfil the community's duty to worship and acknowledge God. Therefore, it too is music which is accessible to ordinary people, it is mono-directional (people singing, God listening), and it is an agent of prayer and praise (in other words, texts which are directed Godward). Any musical setting of the a psalm would be a good example of *leitourgic* music. The advantage of using theological terms is that they can transfer quite easily to purely theological discussions, such as in chapter two.

In the context of this study "South African music" refers to music composed by South-African-born (or naturalised) citizens. For example, Peter Klatzow's music is South African, even though it is written using western standards of harmony and melody. Music in the "South African style" refers to music which is composed with the deliberate intention of imitating one or other of South Africa's indigenous music styles. A striking and creative example of such a style is Pieter Louis Van Dijk's *San Gloria* which uses inflections of the San language to create a choral and orchestral musical fabric.

Specific terminology concerning musical genres within the church is discussed in detail at the beginning of chapter eight.

## Literature review

The Anglican Communion of the twenty-first century is struggling to find a unified identity. The staunch Anglo identities of the Church are being challenged by African, Asian and South American branches of Anglicanism. In particular, symbolism, theology, liturgy and music have been points of contention. Wandera says, "When Anglican tradition is passed on from Europe to Africa... it undergoes transformation. This transformation is also a dynamic process in [an] attempt to make liturgy contextually relevant."<sup>49</sup> The Anglican Church of Southern Africa has assimilated these challenges and has begun to reform its identity; liturgy being at the forefront of its renewal. Academic discourse concerning these issues is lively.

<sup>48</sup> *Songs of Fellowship*, hymn 54.

<sup>49</sup> Wandera, "Being Anglican in a Liturgically Ecumenical Setting", 3.

The history of ACSA from its earliest days is well documented. Lewis and Edwards' *Historical records of the Church of the Province of South Africa* is one the earliest seminal studies of Anglicanism in South Africa. It contains no specific references to music, but does include issues surrounding liturgy. Hinchliff's *The Anglican Church in South Africa* is a standard text and covers issues of polity, mission work and church geography up until the early 1960's. There are, however, a few allusions to musical performance practice in a several quotations. These references have been helpful in establishing Provincial precedents in the historical analysis of Anglican music proposed for section three. Suberg's *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa: A Historical Overview*, published in 1999, is the most recent reference book. Its references to early history are based mainly on the two texts mentioned above, and with regard to more contemporary history on a number of texts detailed below. There is no analysis of the development of Anglican music in Southern Africa in this book.

Ecumenism and apartheid had a profound effect on the church and its music. The development of the church unity movement in South Africa is discussed at length in *Christ Divided* by David Thomas. He uncovers much of ACSA's Anglo-Catholic ethos and the impact it had on ecumenism and missionary work. In particular, he discusses ACSA's close link with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and its influence on the theology of the church. De Gruchy's study *The Church Struggle in South Africa* also assesses ecumenism and the effects of apartheid on the church. Certain aspects of "liberation" and "African" theology, discussed throughout the book, are evident in the freedom songs sung in churches throughout the country. For this reason, texts such as the above are crucial to the understanding of musical trends in the church.

Two essay collections published in the last thirty years have been of critical importance to this study, especially in connection with local liturgical developments. *Bounty in Bondage: The Anglican Church in Southern Africa*,<sup>50</sup> covers a range of historical subjects and includes a chapter entitled "Liturgy for Liberation". Published in 1989, just before the release of APB, it gives a singular glimpse into the rationale behind some of the Liturgical Standing Committee's decisions. Franck England's essay, based largely on his Master's thesis (*Symbolic Warfare: The Battle for the Ownership of Symbols in an Anglican Community*) deals with the Anglican ethos and gives insider insights into the predominantly Anglo-Catholic theological worldview of ACSA. The second collection, *Change and Challenge*,<sup>51</sup> was published in 1998 in commemoration of the hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of ACSA. Michael Nuttall's contribution, addressing the liturgical life of the Province, details some of the most recent liturgical history in Southern Africa.

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<sup>50</sup> Edited by England and Paterson.

<sup>51</sup> Edited by Suggit and Goedhals.

Two names repeatedly emerge in connection with South African liturgy: Rev Cynthia Botha and Bishop Michael Nuttall. A few years ago Botha presented a paper at the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation, published in *Anglican Liturgical Identity*,<sup>52</sup> and has contributed to *Worship Today*.<sup>53</sup> Both Nuttall and Botha wrote chapters regarding South African liturgy in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*.<sup>54</sup> However, despite a wealth of general historical material available in print, very little detailed information is in the public domain regarding the formation and influences on South African liturgy.

The same can be said of Anglican music: the amount of published material relating to Anglican music in South Africa is dismal. The leading published scholar in this field is Barry Smith, having essays in both *Christianity in South Africa*<sup>55</sup> and *The World of South African Music*.<sup>56</sup> These, however, deal only briefly with Anglican hymnody and the Royal School of Church Music (RSCM) in South Africa. He also contributed a master's thesis on the organists of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town and a few smaller articles in *Church Music Quarterly*, an organ of the RSCM. This particular journal has provided snippets of information about the RSCM events in Southern Africa over the past ten years or so. The most substantial article for this research is a description by Sally Harper of her musical experiences in South Africa during December 2003.<sup>57</sup> In the realm of academic literature, South African Anglican music is badly represented. Only one Master's thesis deals directly with this field. Chalmers' *An Anglican Heritage in Transition* (presented for examination at WITS in 2008) examines the role and function of traditional English music in four Johannesburg parishes. This study concentrates exclusively on Anglo-Catholic orientated worship and only scratches the surface of South African Anglican music. Several other theses were of interest. Pass's *Theological Theory Concerning the Role of Music in the Church* (PhD thesis presented at WITS in 1985), although written by an Anglican, is designed for an ecumenical audience. Nonetheless, his work embodies the theological changes which had already occurred by the late 1980's. Related to this study is Van der Laar's *A Theological Exploration of the Role and Use of Music for Worship in the Methodist Church of Southern Africa* (Master's thesis presented at UNISA in 2000). This thesis concentrates exclusively on Methodist music and theology, but did provide some interesting comparisons for my work. In connection with the survey, Lagerwall's *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches* (Master's thesis presented at UNISA in 1996) proved to be a helpful benchmark.

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<sup>52</sup> Edited by Irvine.

<sup>53</sup> Edited by Best and Heller.

<sup>54</sup> Edited by Hefling and Shattuck.

<sup>55</sup> Edited by Elphick and Davenport.

<sup>56</sup> Edited by Lucia.

<sup>57</sup> See Harper, "Singing God's Praise in the Rainbow Nation".



Her research sample included Anglican participants, but her study was not as focused on liturgical issues as this study is.

In comparison with the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of the United States of America, ACSA is lacking in historical material related to Anglican music. Recent major publications such as the *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Temperley, 1979), *The Hymnal 1982 Companion* (Glover, ed., 1990), and *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Harper, 1991) include detailed research into Anglican music. The musical traditions in the abovementioned churches have the advantage of being relatively similar. South Africa's musical tradition, on the other hand, has added dynamics such as local African traditions which have not been fully documented academically. This study adds original and important research in this field.

The study of African religious music is a burgeoning academic discipline. By and large most of the recent studies focus on Eastern and Western Africa as opposed to Southern Africa. In *Music in the Life of the African Church*, published in 2008, King describes musical trends in East Africa and the Ivory Coast. Barz's study of Lutheran *kwayas* during 2003 is focused exclusively on Tanzania. It seems that the only aspect of Southern African music which elicits extensive study is the life and legacy of Ntsikana. Dargie is perhaps the most prolific author in this area,<sup>58</sup> but both Hawn and King describe Ntsikana's contribution and importance in recent publications too.<sup>59</sup>

Localisation is also an important aspect of this study. Much has been accomplished by the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches in the sub-continent with regard to musical localisation. The reforms of the Second Vatican Council were especially helpful in promoting culturally-centred worship. Dargie has written extensively about his work with the Xhosa people and the compositional workshops he initiated for them. The fruits of his labour are now evident both in the Roman Catholic Church and ACSA.<sup>60</sup> In Zimbabwe, Axelsson followed a similar route, but also included marimbas as an accompaniment to ethnic worship.<sup>61</sup> However, if anything similar has been initiated by the Anglican Church, it has not been documented. While Anglican parishes do use marimba and ethnic sacred music, it has been largely adopted from the Roman Catholic Church. This study therefore

<sup>58</sup> See particularly Dargie, "The Music of Ntsikana".

<sup>59</sup> See chapter four of Hawn, *Gather Into One*.

<sup>60</sup> Portions of the Roman Catholic Xhosa Mass setting are sung weekly in Anglican parishes around the country, by both traditionally Black and White congregations. Dargie's pioneering work with marimbas ensured their assimilation into mainstream worship (see Dargie, "Christian Music Among Africans"). Today both Catholic and Anglican churches around the country use marimbas for congregational accompaniment. For details about Dargie's work in general see Dargie, "Group composition and church music workshops" and Dargie, "Lumko Music Department".

<sup>61</sup> Axelsson, "Historical Notes on Neo-African Church Music".

responds to, and assesses, the outcome of the challenges set in the Lambeth Conference 1988,<sup>62</sup> the York Statement (1989)<sup>63</sup> and the Kanamai Statement (1993) - see chapter two.<sup>64</sup>

## Summary

Forty years after the initial ecumenical liturgical revolution, the time is ripe for a detailed analysis of liturgical change and its impact on church music. Since no such study has been undertaken in South Africa in relation to local Anglican music, this study serves to fill that gap. This thesis is an historical study which also incorporates archival elements, with regard to the parish visitations and survey in particular. While setting the scene with a long-distance lens on the distant past, it also addresses the contemporary situation.

Finally, suggestions for the future development of church music in South Africa are presented in the conclusion, as well as several options for future academic study.

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<sup>62</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>63</sup> See Holton, *Liturgical Inculturation in the Anglican Communion*.

<sup>64</sup> See Gitari, *Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa*.



## Part 1

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## Chapter Two

### Introduction to Anglicanism and English Anglican Liturgy

The fact that Cranmer was more gifted as a liturgist than as a theologian meant that, in effect, he gave priority to the worship of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

The Anglican Church, from its formation in the sixteenth century, has always struggled with its identity. It declared that it held ties with the early undivided church, but it also affirmed many of the more contemporary Reformation ideals. The first reformers, including Cranmer, espoused a Protestant ethic and ethos, especially in terms of theology and liturgy. Henry VIII (r. 1509 - 1547) preferred the Catholic faith and promoted its doctrine until his death. During Edward VI's (r. 1547 - 1553) reign a decidedly Protestant flavour began to infiltrate the church in England. Mary Tudor (r. 1553 - 1558) reinstated Roman Catholicism. Elizabeth I (r. 1558 - 1603) was pragmatic about the situation. She had been raised during the development of the Church of England under her father, and being something of a theologian herself, agreed with a number of the reforms. Her balanced approach and solid theological foundation ensured that a balance between Protestant and Catholic doctrine was promoted.<sup>2</sup>

The essence of modern Anglicanism emerged in the eighteenth century. It was a uniquely English form of Christianity, upholding a fairly broad theological basis.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, extreme theological views still persisted, especially neo-Catholicism and Puritanism. Consequently, the terms 'high' and 'low' were coined by Burnet in 1702 when he noticed the theological inflexibility of certain sections of the church.<sup>4</sup>

#### The development of parties

'High' and 'Low' are convenient labels, but not sufficiently comprehensive. For example, in modern common usage 'High Church' can refer to the ceremonial of a parish, not necessarily its theological underpinnings. In fact, few so-called 'High' churches would relate to the 'High' ideology of the Caroline Divines. Contemporary Anglican writers usually identify three parties within the Anglican Church: Evangelicals, Anglo-Catholics and Liberals. These three strands of Anglican polity are usually associated with Hooker's 'trinity' of theological dialogue: Scripture with the Evangelical wing ('Sola Scriptura'), tradition with the Anglo-Catholics, reason with the Liberals. Some theologians emphasise

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<sup>1</sup> Bartlett, *A Passionate Balance*, 171.

<sup>2</sup> For a fairly brief but comprehensive overview of this period see Haugaard, "From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century", 3 - 9.

<sup>3</sup> Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism*, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism*, 17.

that the contribution of each party helps to balance theological debate within the church. However, the reality is that party politics has often resulted in a 'trialogue of the deaf'.<sup>5</sup>

The Evangelical Movement<sup>6</sup> gained momentum in the eighteenth century as a reaction against the perceived stagnant nature of the Hanoverian Church.<sup>7</sup> By and large, the church of the eighteenth century ignored the stirrings of the Industrial Revolution and failed to serve the needs of the growing working class. As a result, groups of laity and clergy began working in practical ways to alleviate some of the social evils of the time. While Methodism was mainly a lay movement, the Anglican Evangelicals were largely clerics.<sup>8</sup> During the eighteenth century Evangelicals characteristically encouraged charity work, particularly education, health care and mission. The Societies for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) were established as vehicles of this social awakening. Through these, and many other groups, Bibles and prayer books were distributed cheaply and translated into various languages. The slave trade was a growing concern to these Christians and it was largely through their efforts that it was abolished.<sup>9</sup>

Theologically, Evangelicals tend to prize a personal religious experience as a confirmation of conversion.<sup>10</sup> In the twentieth century the Charismatic Movement has to a large degree epitomised this experiential spirituality. Healing, blessings in the spirit, glossolalia and visions were and still are common place. In general, Evangelicals tend to identify strongly with the Protestant ideals of the early Reformers. Some of the indicators of the movement are an elevated view of scripture, justification by faith, episcopacy and anti-Roman-Catholic polemic.<sup>11</sup> Evangelicals reject ritualism and nominal spirituality, and they are sometimes associated with the concept of the inerrancy of Scripture, although this is not a classical Anglican belief.<sup>12</sup>

Anglo-Catholicism, otherwise called the Oxford Movement or Tractarianism, developed slightly later in the 1830's. It sprang to life in reaction to political reforms which affected church life and

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<sup>5</sup> Bartlett, *A Passionate Balance*, 21.

<sup>6</sup> For a comprehensive history of the Anglican Evangelical Movement see Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734 – 1984*.

<sup>7</sup> Quinn, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 159.

<sup>8</sup> Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England*, 11.

<sup>9</sup> The Clapham Sect, through William Wilberforce, was influential in the eradication of the slave trade. See Quinn, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 177 - 79.

<sup>10</sup> Chapman, *Anglicanism*, 59.

<sup>11</sup> Chapman, *Anglicanism*, 68.

<sup>12</sup> According to the Articles of Religion, Scripture provides all things necessary for salvation (The Articles of Religion can be found at the back of any BCP 1662). A number of modern scholars have noted this and reiterated that the Bible is not primarily a history text book, see Suggit, *The Bible Today*, 5.

governance.<sup>13</sup> The movement was led by a group of clerical scholars aiming to reclaim the church's Catholic heritage in theology, spirituality and liturgy.<sup>14</sup> In contrast to the Evangelical Movement, it was not primarily concerned with the improvement of societal problems such as slavery and urban working conditions.<sup>15</sup> Although social awareness became an integral part of Anglo-Catholicism later in its history, it had its roots as a purely esoteric theological concept. The movement was not limited to Oxford. In Cambridge the Camden Society was formed. Its founder, John Mason Neale (1818 - 1866), awakened curiosity in church architecture, religious orders, medieval furnishings and vestments, as well as Latin and Greek hymns.<sup>16</sup> In fact, all these "Nealisms" are among the most visible characteristics which found expression on South African soil. One which is immediately visible, is a number of the church buildings themselves. The first Bishop of Cape Town's wife, Sophy Gray, was a skilled architect, and designed many of the first Anglican churches along neo-Gothic and neo-Byzantine lines.<sup>17</sup>

The locus of spiritual authority was contested by the Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. The established church recognised the monarch and state as divine institutions. Evangelicalism emphasised the authority of personal spiritual experience and scripture. Anglo-Catholicism transmitted authority to a supernaturally ordered church.<sup>18</sup> Linked with the emphasis on the supernatural church was their magnification of the office of bishop in relation to apostolic succession. As a consequence, the authority of clergy was exaggerated, often resulting in a diminution of the role of laity. The exalted doctrine of ministry also led to a renewed respect for the sacraments and their efficacy. Extreme Tractarians sought to annul the Protestant tendencies of the English Reformation and replace them with Catholic doctrine. In fact, John Henry Newman (1801 - 1890)<sup>19</sup> argued in his famous *Tract Ninety* that the Articles of Religion could be accepted by Roman Catholics.

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<sup>13</sup> In 1833 John Keble (1792 - 1866), professor of poetry at Oxford, preached his famous Assize sermon where he decried the government's decision to amalgamate several Irish bishoprics for pragmatic reasons. He questioned how a civil body could have authority over a spiritual one. The Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1833, encouraged by the Evangelical wing of the Church of England, meant that in theory Roman Catholics could make decisions regarding the established church. For Keble this was unacceptable. See Quinn, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 181 - 82.

<sup>14</sup> Quinn, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 181.

<sup>15</sup> Quinn, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 181.

<sup>16</sup> Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism*, 134.

<sup>17</sup> For more detailed information regarding the influences on Sophy Gray's architectural designs, see Martin, *The Bishop's Churches: The Churches of Anglican Bishop Robert Gray*.

<sup>18</sup> Chapman, *Anglicanism*, 75.

<sup>19</sup> Newman was an Anglican priest and academic who wrote a number of the 'tracts' which sparked the Anglo-Catholic Movement. Eventually he left the Anglican Church and became a Roman Catholic. He was an influential leader, and became a Cardinal towards the end of his life. See Quinn, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 186 - 88.



When it came to missionary work, the Tractarians valued tradition so highly that they believed the church needed to be “transplanted” directly from England to the mission field. No consideration was given to local conditions or culture.<sup>20</sup> The Colonial Bishoprics Fund was established to support such ‘High Church’ missions. Their goal was to send bishops to colonial territories as missionaries to establish the church from the top downwards. This is how the South African church was conceived. The founder of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, Bishop Gray, was influenced by Tractarian theology. South African church historians suspect that he heard Anthony Grant’s *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen*, at the Bampton Lectures, Oxford, in 1843. Grant said, “Therefore must the Church extend herself with the extension of our empire... [The Church must carry] her divine system into foreign settlements, [to] secure Christianity and the true social development of these future nations.”<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, South African Anglicanism in general was greatly influenced by Tractarian ideals.<sup>22</sup> Several of the ‘six points’<sup>23</sup> which Yates identifies as Oxford influences, are still evident in parishes in the Province. Hinchliff attributes the Anglo-Catholic nature of the Province largely to the fall-out from the “Colenso controversy”.<sup>24</sup> But it is more likely that many of the imported English clergy ministering in South Africa were Tractarians trying to find a Province where their theological outlook would not be under attack.<sup>25</sup> One of the most important contributions of the Oxford Movement in South Africa was the formation of religious communities towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> The witness of a number of nuns and monks during the apartheid era inspired many black and coloured clergy and laity. Most notably, Trevor Huddleston’s work in Sophiatown influenced the young Desmond Tutu. However, the Tractarian Movement has created its share of negative impact. England (a local Anglican historian) claims,

<sup>20</sup> Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism*, 59.

<sup>21</sup> Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism*, 111.

<sup>22</sup> England, “Tracing South African Anglicanism”, 17.

<sup>23</sup> The ‘six points’ are: taking the eastward position at the Eucharist; wearing full Eucharistic vestments; mixing water with wine in the chalice; using lighted candles on the altar; using unleavened or wafer bread in the Eucharist; and using incense during the service. For more details see “The Growth of Ritualism” in Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism*.

<sup>24</sup> Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, 190. Bishop John Colenso’s (1814 - 1883) philosophy was shaped by his encounters with Maurice and his reading of theologians such as Coleridge and Arnold. In particular, Frederick Maurice’s (1805 - 1872) views about God’s presence in all cultures and his work in comparative religions were to find fulfilment in Colenso’s mission work with the Zulus in Natal. While still affected by British Imperialism, his work, although mocked by his contemporaries, has been hailed as one of the most effective of missionary techniques by modern scholars. His mission work and published works did not endear him to his Dean and the Metropolitan and he was eventually excommunicated by a church court. For more information about the ‘Colenso controversy’ see Chapman, *Anglicanism*, 111 - 15.

<sup>25</sup> In Britain, fierce legal and political battles surrounding ritualism raged, and some Tractarian clergy were even jailed for their practices.

<sup>26</sup> England, “Tracing South African Anglicanism”, 19.

Perhaps there has been an over-emphasis on the sacraments and liturgy where sanctification is mystical rather than truly incarnational. Perhaps the church has tended to perceive herself as the guardian of truth, speaking out and condemning injustice and exploitation, but without creatively moulding the lives of her members for the practical tasks of ensuring that 'captives are released, the blind see and the oppressed are liberated' (Lk 4: 18)<sup>27</sup>

What of those who did not identify with either the Evangelicals or the Anglo-Catholics? A third party developed in reaction to both of these extremes. However, to call this a 'party' is really a misnomer. Generally, they prefer not to be associated with any party at all, cherishing the comprehensiveness of Anglicanism rather than a doctrinaire-like standpoint. Its adherents are identified by many names: Liberal, Latitudinarian or Broad Church. Critical thought and moderate theology, embodying the classic *via media*, are characteristic attributes of this group. Today, the Anglican Church in Southern Africa is tending more towards this middle ground, rather than to classical Tractarianism.

### **Role of the laity**

Since its inception, the Anglican Church has been grappling with the role of the laity. In the sixteenth century, the right to own a vernacular Bible symbolically represented what Paul Avis has termed "the liberation of the laity".<sup>28</sup> However, the Anglican Church has a lingering label as a 'hierarchical church', in other words, a theological autocracy.

Lay leadership and the contribution of the laity to the spirituality of the church is beginning to be recognised. The 1988 Lambeth Conference affirmed: "If you are a baptised Christian, you are already a minister. Whether you are ordained or not is immaterial."<sup>29</sup> Indeed, confirmation can now be considered as the "ordination" of the laity.<sup>30</sup> Nowadays lay Anglicans can be given authority to administer communion and the reserved sacrament; visit the sick; preach and lead intercessions. The APB even gives unauthorised laity the authority to baptise in cases of emergency.

### **Apartheid**

Apartheid forced the ACSA to assume an ethos unlike most of its fellow churches in the Anglican Communion. The impact on ecumenical relations, in particular, was staggering. The suspicion of former days gave way rapidly to openness in the latter half of the twentieth century and great friendships developed across denominational lines. Astonishingly, in an effort to present a united Christian witness against apartheid, denominations managed to overlook many of their historic

<sup>27</sup> England, "Tracing South African Anglicanism", 20.

<sup>28</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, 60.

<sup>29</sup> Bank, "The changing role of the laity", 38.

<sup>30</sup> Bank, "The changing role of the laity", 39.

doctrinal differences.<sup>31</sup> De Gruchy elucidates, "...the story of the past reminds us that ecumenical agencies such as the Christian Institute, the South African Council of Churches and the Institute for Contextual Theology played crucial roles in nurturing the public witness of the churches."<sup>32</sup> A number of Anglican bishops and laity were at the forefront of these movements. After a hesitant start, Archbishop Geoffrey Clayton threw himself into ecumenical endeavours. Others followed, including such auspicious clerics as Bill Burnett and Robert Selby Taylor, both Archbishops of Cape Town. Perhaps the most influential body was the South African Council of Churches (SACC).<sup>33</sup> Desmond Tutu's work as secretary of the SACC was instrumental in undermining apartheid. During his vocal and practical onslaught against the regime, he began dreaming about a unified country. He was especially inspired by the ecumenical religious community of Taizé in France.<sup>34</sup>

Apartheid also forced the church to think eschatologically, testing Christian hope to its breaking point. Many millions of the faithful believed that God would save them despite the appalling conditions they were subjected to.

More than anything else, apartheid propelled the church into practical action. "While the Dutch Reformed Church explicitly supported apartheid, there can be no question that many other branches of the faith communities were lukewarm in their criticism of the policy and very often reflected intolerance and racism."<sup>35</sup> This was definitely true for the Anglican Church in South Africa. De Gruchy tersely notes, "The failure of the English-speaking churches was not in the passing of resolutions, but in their implementation."<sup>36</sup> Suberg elaborates,

Although in the CPSA<sup>37</sup> some clergy spoke out with varying degrees of conviction on the evils of apartheid, the majority of the white laity accepted the de facto separation of the races.

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<sup>31</sup> de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 257.

<sup>32</sup> de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 257.

<sup>33</sup> Tutu describes the role of the South African Council of Churches, "[It] tries to maintain links between our South African churches and the worldwide community...We hoped we could share...experiences and insights with our fellow Christians in South Africa. We are linked with many Christians in other lands in very strong and close bonds of fellowship" (Tutu, *The Rainbow People of God*, 35).

<sup>34</sup> In an address, he said, "We believe passionately in the future of a non-racial South Africa and as an earnest of this we have called for a Pilgrimage of Hope due to take place next July. Last August I was at Taizé in the south of France, the home of the ecumenical Protestant religious community headed by Brother Roger. When I was there about 5, 000 young people from all over the world were at Taizé. One Sunday morning I attended the Eucharist in the packed church of the reconciliation in a service held in several languages. I had a vision of young South Africans of all races in Taizé, loving, playing, worshiping, working and roughing it together for the sake of racial harmony" (Tutu, *The Rainbow People of God*, 36).

<sup>35</sup> Boraime, *A Country Unmasked*, 180 - 81.

<sup>36</sup> de Gruchy, "The English-speaking Churches", 160.

<sup>37</sup> CPSA is the acronym for Church of the Province of Southern Africa. This was ACSA's name until 2005.

Clayton took confrontational action only when the government tried to legislate on the rights of the CPSA to allow its members ... to worship in any CPSA church building ...<sup>38</sup>

In 1957 the apartheid government attempted to force the segregation of congregations by introducing clause 29 (c) to the Native Laws Amendment Bill. In essence it disallowed black Christians from attending churches in white areas.<sup>39</sup> Archbishop Clayton sent a letter to the government in which he indicated that ACSA would be forced to disobey the law if it was passed by the house. It was the first time he was actively prepared to disobey the apartheid government.<sup>40</sup>

Clayton's successor, Joost De Blank (Archbishop of Cape Town from 1958 - 1963), was far more controversial and vigorous in the church's anti-apartheid campaign. It was his direct condemnation of the Dutch Reformed Church's support of apartheid that precipitated the Cottesloe Consultation in 1960.<sup>41</sup> The Consultation itself was a turning point for a number of reasons. Firstly, it moulded the ecumenical Christian drive against institutionalised apartheid.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, it revealed fairly significant fault-lines in the hierarchy of the white Dutch Reformed denominations of the country.<sup>43</sup>

Further ecumenical delegations, which included Anglican clerics, academics and lay people, produced momentous publications such as the *Kairos Document*, the *Harare Declaration* (1986) and the *Lusaka Statement* (1987). This is not to say that these statements were well received by many prominent members of the Anglican Church.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the majority of the members of the church were ready to work towards freedom, the freedom they eventually won in 1994.

But freedom has never come cheaply. In the biblical description of the Exodus, soon after their miraculous exit from Egypt, some of the Hebrews long to return to their oppressor's land because freedom has proved exceptionally difficult and unfamiliar.<sup>45</sup> Then the great desert period of forty years began. The reality was, although the transformation of government went relatively smoothly,

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<sup>38</sup> Suberg, *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa*, 96.

<sup>39</sup> Suberg, *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa*, 95.

<sup>40</sup> Suberg, *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa*, 95.

<sup>41</sup> For a detailed historical account of the Cottesloe Consultation see de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 60 - 66.

<sup>42</sup> de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 63 - 64.

<sup>43</sup> de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 64.

<sup>44</sup> Two former archbishops of Cape Town, Robert Selby Taylor and Bill Burnett, did not accept the *Kairos Document*. In his autobiography, Burnett is careful to stress that he vehemently rejected the document and wrote in opposition to it many times (see Burnett, *The Rock that is Higher than I*, 182 - 90).

<sup>45</sup> See Exodus 14 - 19.

South Africans were left with a country ravaged by inequality and poverty. Now the greatest task of the church is to deal with the legacy of apartheid.<sup>46</sup>

Ten years before apartheid fell, the South African liturgical musicologist, David Pass, identified “forgiveness” as the Church’s central message.<sup>47</sup> Tutu also identified forgiveness as a central tenet for the future of the country and the church. Some years later he wrote a book dealing with the subject, *No Future without Forgiveness*. Reconciliation is an integral component of forgiveness and healing. During the transition from apartheid to democracy, the church was instrumental in encouraging and leading efforts in reconciliation.<sup>48</sup> It had already foreseen the need for reconciliation when apartheid was still in full swing. By 1989 the SACC called for its members to confess their guilt for apartheid and for apathy in not always actively opposing it. This was the catalyst for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. De Gruchy notes:

There were, moreover, regular calls by the SACC and its member churches for national repentance and reconciliation. So while the ecumenical church cannot take credit for the establishment of the TRC, it helped create and nurture an ecumenical consciousness around these issues.<sup>49</sup>

Tutu was appointed the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which began a long process of national healing. The foundation of the commission was largely Christian and its hearings were closer to “pastoral counselling” sessions than legal proceedings. Kadar Asmal, a cabinet minister of the new democratic government, was able to call the TRC a ‘civil sacrament’.<sup>50</sup> A large contingent of the Christian community responded to the TRC’s call for ‘Faith Community Hearings’ in November 1997.<sup>51</sup> The Dean of the Province, Bishop Michael Nuttall, represented the Anglican Church and asked for forgiveness for the role ACSA had played in apartheid. It was especially important for the church to acknowledge its guilt and to commit to reparation. Music played a large part in the TRC hearings. Often the members of the public attending the hearings would spontaneously start singing a hymn to support victims giving their testimonies.

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<sup>46</sup> Contemporary South African Anglican theologians have been grappling with many of post-apartheid South Africa’s problems. Even John Suggit’s commentary on Mark’s Gospel includes a chapter on the Gospel’s relevance on issues such as racism, HIV/AIDS, ethics, human dignity and Christian hope. See Suggit, *St Mark the Evangelist*.

<sup>47</sup> Pass, *A Theological Theory Concerning the Role of Music in the Church*, 94.

<sup>48</sup> Tutu: “If there is to be reconciliation, we who are the ambassadors of Christ, we to whom the gospel of reconciliation has been entrusted, surely we must be Christ’s instruments of peace. We must ourselves be reconciled.” (Tutu, *The Rainbow People of God*, 215).

<sup>49</sup> de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 225.

<sup>50</sup> de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 226.

<sup>51</sup> de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 226 .

## Introduction to Anglican liturgical history

In the sixteenth century, the English Reformers were aiming to institute weekly Communion services where the whole congregation could receive the elements.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, they hoped to encourage the laity to attend daily morning and evening prayer services in the parish church.<sup>53</sup> In essence, they were aiming to establish a *koinoniac* style of worship.

Archbishop Cranmer<sup>54</sup> was instrumental in creating the first two Books of Common Prayer and his own theological views were reflected in both.<sup>55</sup> Before the first book was published in 1549, trial liturgies had been distributed throughout the kingdom. In the early 1540's most of these trial services were in Latin, with a few English sections (the revisions were based mainly on Cardinal Quiñones' Breviary of 1535). Other official liturgical publications were also published at this time. Henry VIII began to warm to the Lutherans in the 1530's and allowed the publication of the *Bishops' Book* (1537) which had distinct Lutheran leanings. In 1538 he approved a bill to provide each parish with an English Bible and required all communicants to be able to recite the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English. However, by the 1540's his interest in Lutheranism had waned and he swung back to Roman-Catholic-oriented worship, requiring a revision of the *Bishops' Book*. The result was the *King's Book* (1543). A year later the king ordered Cranmer to create an English Litany in response to an invasion of France. This was the first official English service to be approved for use. But that is as far as Henry VIII would venture on the vernacular front. For the rest of his reign he would not authorise a full translation of the Mass and Offices for common use. Cranmer had to wait until Edward VI had ascended to the throne before he could introduce the whole liturgy in the English.<sup>56</sup>

Henry VIII died in 1547 and Edward VI was crowned in the same year. Under the boy-monarch, liturgical revision took on a new impetus and soon an English vernacular rite was being drafted. The terms of reference for the 1549 prayer book were:

[to] draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments... having as well eye and respect to the most

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<sup>52</sup> Previously Communion, although celebrated weekly or daily, was only administered to parishioners once a year. Then they only received a wafer and no wine. See Beckwith, "Thomas Cranmer and the Prayer Book", 105.

<sup>53</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 37.

<sup>54</sup> Jeanes: "The Book of Common Prayer owes its character above all to one man: Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1533 to 1556" (Jeanes, "Cranmer and Common Prayer", 21).

<sup>55</sup> Jeanes, "Cranmer and Common Prayer", 21.

<sup>56</sup> Jeanes, "Cranmer and Common Prayer", 19 - 26.

sincere and pure Christian religion taught by Scripture, as to the usages in the primitive Church.<sup>57</sup>

The book was based heavily on Sarum<sup>58</sup> sources and as a consequence had a decidedly Roman flavour.<sup>59</sup> Other minor sources are discernable too: elements of early church teachings, Eastern Orthodox material and snippets of German Protestant Orders.<sup>60</sup> The most novel development in this book was the daily office routine. Cranmer combined the medieval monastic offices of Matins, Lauds and Prime into one morning service; and Vespers and Compline into Evening Prayer. The services of Morning and Evening Prayer are uniquely Anglican, having no parallel elsewhere in Christian liturgical history.<sup>61</sup> In fact, these offices have been the cornerstones of Anglican piety and music since the sixteenth century.

The new prayer book amounted to a liturgical revolution. The vast array of medieval liturgical accretions gave way to a simple one-volume book in plain English. The dramatic changes must have been a shock to common worshippers. It is known that they were particularly distressed at the loss of special ceremonies associated with Candlemas, Ash Wednesday and Good Friday which were abolished just before the 1549 book was introduced.<sup>62</sup> The popular sung procession was also banned.

It appears that Cranmer intended the BCP 1549 as an interim rite<sup>63</sup> and that BCP 1552 was the grand culmination of nearly twelve years of liturgical experimentation.<sup>64</sup> Commonly it is held that BCP 1552 is decidedly more Protestant in character than 1549. Dix holds that Cranmer was moving towards Zwinglianism.<sup>65</sup> But Hatchett believes that the revisions were reactionary rather than Protestant.<sup>66</sup> Dix makes an interesting point,

What had largely assisted the general misunderstanding of 1549 was its retention of the traditional Shape of the Liturgy. Cranmer realised that this was a mistake if he wanted the new belief to be adopted; and in 1552 he made radical changes in this in order to bring out

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<sup>57</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 67.

<sup>58</sup> The Salisbury Use of the Roman Rite.

<sup>59</sup> The title of the Communion, "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass", sums up the character of the book. (Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 75).

<sup>60</sup> Hatchett, "Prayer Books", 132.

<sup>61</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 73.

<sup>62</sup> Jeanes, "Cranmer and Common Prayer", 23.

<sup>63</sup> "It would seem that Cranmer had a deliberate policy of reform by planned stages through the two books." (Jeanes, "Cranmer and Common Prayer", 26 and Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 658).

<sup>64</sup> The first tentative steps were in the vernacular liturgies of the early 1540's.

<sup>65</sup> Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 657.

<sup>66</sup> Hatchett, "Prayer Books", 137.

the doctrinal implications of 1549. But the wording of the prayers of 1549 needed no such drastic treatment.<sup>67</sup>

Certainly, the Communion rite was substantially trimmed of excesses. Cranmer was anxious to position the communion directly after the consecration. Thus, much of what had come after the consecration prayer in 1549 was moved earlier in the service and some parts were removed completely, for example the *Agnus Dei* and *Benedictus*. The *Gloria* was placed at the end of the service to highlight thanksgiving for the sacrament. Besides the structural revisions, the most notable revision was the pronounced penitential ethos, especially for the offices.<sup>68</sup>

BCP 1552 had only been in use for less than a year before Edward VI died and Mary Tudor ascended to the throne. Being Roman Catholic, she promptly reintroduced the Sarum Rite and re-established links with Rome. However, Mary's reign was not long, and Elizabeth I was crowned queen in 1558.<sup>69</sup> Among her first injunctions was the restoration of Prayer Book worship. Although she had hoped for a return to the 1549 book, eventually BCP 1552, with minor adjustments, called Book of Common Prayer 1559, was introduced.<sup>70</sup> Whereas BCP 1552 had been designed principally as a revolution against Rome, the BCP 1559 became a defence against radical Puritanism.<sup>71</sup>

The seventeenth century was a turbulent time in English history. After Charles I had been deposed and the Commonwealth instated, BCP 1559 was effectively banned and replaced by the *Westminster Directory*. This liturgy was a compromise between the moderate and radical Presbyterian clergy who preferred not to have a set liturgy. Thus, rather than being a liturgy in the BCP sense, it was a set of outlines which directed clergy how to structure a service correctly. In essence, it left the clergy free to write their own prayers and liturgies.<sup>72</sup> Scholars are unsure how widespread the use of this order was, but it is certain that many common people continued to use the BCP in the privacy of their homes.<sup>73</sup> When Charles II (r. 1660 - 1685) was requested by parliament to return to England in May 1660, a settlement was reached and the prayer book was reintroduced. The King ordered a gathering of clerics and academics to revise the book where necessary, but despite some innovative

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<sup>67</sup> Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 659.

<sup>68</sup> For a comprehensive discussion regarding the BCP 1552 revision, see Cumming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 96 - 116.

<sup>69</sup> For a detailed account of the historical background of the 1559 Prayer Book as well as critical appraisal of the book, see Booty, *The Book of Common Prayer 1559*.

<sup>70</sup> The changes did not alter the theological ethos of the book.

<sup>71</sup> Botha, "Worship and Anglican Identity", 14.

<sup>72</sup> Spinks, "From Elizabeth I to Charles II", 51.

<sup>73</sup> Spinks, "From Elizabeth I to Charles II", 51.



ideas from its members, very few changes were accepted. In essence the BCP 1662 version follows BCP 1559 (and by implication, BCP 1552) very closely.<sup>74</sup>

Developments after 1662 were minimal. In fact, only minor alterations to the text were permitted. However, this is not to say that liturgical activity had come to a halt. Non-jurors (those who felt they could not declare the royal oath to William of Orange and Mary Stuart) created an alternative to the BCP.<sup>75</sup> Some of its material was used for the failed attempt at official prayer book revision in 1928. Many other liturgists have made sensible and theologically sound suggestions for revision over the three-hundred-year “reign” of the BCP. The English Parliament tended towards conservative interpretations of liturgy and very few, if any were accepted.<sup>76</sup>

### **Foundations of the liturgical revolution of the twentieth century**

In the early twentieth century the main Sunday service throughout the Anglican Communion was Matins.<sup>77</sup> Communion was usually celebrated quarterly. On Communion Sundays Matins was offered as usual, followed by the litany and ending with the Lord’s Supper. Historical evidence, dating from the sixteenth century, suggests that the Communion service was significantly abridged, when celebrated after Matins and the litany. Walter Frere (1863 - 1938)<sup>78</sup> advocated a similar approach in the early twentieth century in his book *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*.<sup>79</sup> Sung Evensong was popular too. Matins was the place for a moralistic sermon, and Evensong a time for expounding Scripture.<sup>80</sup> Thus, up until the mid-twentieth century Matins and Evensong formed the core of Anglican piety and worship. The situation today throughout the Anglican Communion, is radically different. Now the Eucharist (note the change in terminology) forms the weekly spiritual diet for most Anglican worshippers. The main service usually starts at 9 or 9:30 am and the offices are seldom prayed publicly on Sundays. By and large, even weekday services are Eucharistic. This shift in public worship is due to a number of factors.

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<sup>74</sup> Spinks, “From Elizabeth I to Charles II”, 51 - 55.

<sup>75</sup> For a critical discussion regarding the contribution of the Non-Jurors to Anglican liturgical development see chapter two of Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy*.

<sup>76</sup> Because the Church of England is a state Church, decisions regarding liturgical change had to be accepted by parliament. In the latter part of the twentieth century, parliament allowed the church to make its own decisions regarding liturgical change, but requested that the 1662 BCP be retained as a standard of Faith. It is for this reason that successive BCP’s have been regarded as political documents as well as spiritual ones.

<sup>77</sup> Matins, originally spelt “Mattins”, is the Anglican form of Morning Prayer.

<sup>78</sup> Frere was one of the co-founders of the Community of the Resurrection and later Bishop of Truro. He was also a noted liturgical scholar. See Spinks, “The Prayer Book ‘Crisis’ in England”, 240.

<sup>79</sup> Botha, “Southern Africa”, 198.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with John Suggit.

Buchanan has identified seven influences which precipitated liturgical change in twentieth century Anglicanism: the Liturgical Movement; Dom Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy*; the Liturgy of the Church of South India; Lambeth Conferences, especially that of 1958; the emancipation of the laity; the language of the liturgy; and the beginnings of localisation.<sup>81</sup> But these influences do not include sociological changes which have also contributed to the conditions under which the liturgy has been reformed, for example the two World Wars. Several other aspects need to be considered in the South African context: the substantial influence of the Second Vatican Council; the strong ecumenical ties which developed towards the end of the twentieth century; apartheid and its legacy; and the charismatic renewal (precipitated largely by the election of Bill Burnett as Archbishop of Cape Town).

Most contemporary historians trace the beginnings of the modern Liturgical Movement to 1832 when Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805 - 1875) reconstituted the Abbey of Solesmes. Although it had its roots in Roman Catholicism, it soon had adherents across the denominational spectrum. Grey suggests that the beginnings of the liturgical movement in the Anglican Church can be traced back to Christian Socialists, such as Maurice.<sup>82</sup> Another precursor to the movement was Neale and his Camden Society (formed in 1839) which promoted liturgical scholarship.<sup>83</sup> Frere's book *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform* (1911) foreshadowed the movement locally, having widespread influence, especially in Southern Africa.<sup>84</sup> He argued that the Eucharist should be the main service of the day with everyone communicating.<sup>85</sup>

Henry de Candole (1895 - 1971) was also a prime mover in the early Anglican Liturgical Movement. He published two books, *The Church's Offering: A brief study of Eucharistic Worship* and *The Sacraments and the Church: A Study in the corporate nature of Christianity*. They were both published in the same year as A. G. Herbert's (1886 - 1963) famous *Liturgy and Society* (1935). Herbert's book was the first clear statement of the Liturgical Movement's ideals addressed specifically to Anglicans.<sup>86</sup> Several years later, the symposium, *The Parish Communion* (1939) edited

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<sup>81</sup> Buchanan, "The Winds of Change", 233 - 238.

<sup>82</sup> Certainly it seems that the Parish Communion movement grew directly out of Christian Socialism. Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 40.

<sup>83</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 39.

<sup>84</sup> Botha notes that there was regular correspondence between the Synod of Bishops and Frere concerning the new Eucharistic Prayer published in 1929. Botha, "Southern Africa", 198.

<sup>85</sup> According to John Suggit this was not the case in the Diocese of Grahamstown in the mid 1940's. Holy Communion was still held early in the morning with no sermon and usually preceded by fasting. He also says that the sermon was reserved for 11am Matins (the principal service of the day). From the interview with John Suggit.

<sup>86</sup> Shepherd, *The Reform of Liturgical Worship*, 6.

by Herbert, included essays by Candole and Dix. The thrust of the publication was the introduction of a 9:30am Parish Communion with psalmody<sup>87</sup> and a '10 minute liturgical sermon'. Parishes that adhered to these reforms were collectively known as the Parish Communion Movement.

Dix's essay in *The Parish Communion* briefly addressed the four-fold Eucharistic pattern which he later developed in *The Shape of the Liturgy*. In fact, it was Dix who would dominate liturgical study throughout the 1940's and beyond.<sup>88</sup> His work influenced Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Lutherans and several other denominations.<sup>89</sup> His theory of the four-fold Eucharistic action (which he mistakenly showed was embedded in Hippolytus' *The Apostolic Tradition*) has had far reaching implications for modern Anglican rites.<sup>90</sup>

There are eight main characteristics of the modern liturgical movement: the struggle for community; active participation; early church models; the importance of Scripture; recovery of the Eucharist; emphasis on the vernacular; the rediscovery of ancient Christian traditions; and emphasis on proclamation.<sup>91</sup> Anglicanism from its very inception has subscribed to some of these views and included them in the liturgical reforms of the sixteenth century.<sup>92</sup>

Lambeth Conferences have also been instrumental in initiating liturgical development. The 1908 Conference recognised the need for local variety in liturgy, especially in far flung Provinces.<sup>93</sup> By 1920 the same Conference had recommended:

While maintaining the authority of the Book of Common Prayer as the Anglican standard of doctrine and practice, we consider that liturgical uniformity should not be regarded as a necessity throughout the Churches of the Anglican Communion. The conditions of the church in many parts of the mission field render inapplicable the retention of that Book as the once fixed liturgical model.<sup>94</sup>

The seminal moment for the Anglican Liturgical Movement was in 1958 when the Lambeth Conference ratified a systematic overhaul of BCP 1662. A report by the British Liturgical Committee had suggested, among other things, the introduction of more litanies, the recovery of the prayers of the people, an offertory procession and a Eucharistic Prayer with an ethos of thanksgiving. Most of

<sup>87</sup> The BCP tradition did not include psalmody at the Communion service.

<sup>88</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 48.

<sup>89</sup> Wainwright, *Worship with One Accord*, 3.

<sup>90</sup> Baldovin, "The Liturgical Movement and Its Consequences", 252- 53.

<sup>91</sup> See Chapter Two of Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*.

<sup>92</sup> Shepherd identifies three such principles in early Anglicanism: the content of common worship should conform to the doctrinal teaching of Holy Scripture; its language should be one understood by all the people; and the forms of service should be sufficiently simple in structure so that all the worshippers, laity no less than clergy, might follow them intelligently and responsibly. Shepherd, *The Reform of Liturgical Worship*, 12.

<sup>93</sup> Blott, "British North America and Canada", 187.

<sup>94</sup> Kaye, *An Introduction to World Anglicanism*, 79.

the recommendations focused on fostering a sense of community in worship. The resolutions of the 1958 Lambeth Conference gave each Anglican Province the authority to initiate substantial autonomous revision. However, a classical Anglican 'shape' was to be maintained. This 'shape' was elucidated through two Pan-Anglican documents – the first in 1965 (simply the bare-bones of structure) and the second, an expansion of the first, in 1968 (more comprehensive details for the Eucharistic service and daily offices). The revised report was titled *The Structure and Contents of the Eucharistic Liturgy and the Divine Office*.<sup>95</sup> Another important development was tabled at Lambeth 1988, namely localisation. The Conference recommended that each Province work towards a truly local version of Anglican worship which would incorporate vernacular cultural aspects as well as traditional Anglican standards.<sup>96</sup>

Sociological changes have also shaped liturgical revision. First and foremost, the World Wars impacted every part of society. Religious life was no exception and the church's liturgy, in particular, was found wanting. In wartime ministry, English army chaplains had found that morning and evening prayer concentrated excessively on penitence, and that the prayers were out of touch with modern realities. They preferred the communion service and tended to neglect the offices altogether.<sup>97</sup>

As a result, the English archbishops decided to set up a number of enquiries to investigate the chaplains' complaints. One of the committees recommended "... not only reform of the prayer book but a change in the conventional priorities of Sunday services that would give communion the central place, at present occupied by morning and evening prayer."<sup>98</sup> The chaplains who served on the committee went further to suggest that services should be more "congregational in character". So it can be seen that what found expression in Herbert's *Liturgy and Society*, was a result not only of the continental liturgical movement, but also of the inadequacy of the liturgy during wartime.

The rise of technology has had a vast impact on sociology and religion. Globalisation has been one of its "by-products". Peter Beyer lists four features of globalisation when discussing the impact of social factors on the church.<sup>99</sup> Two are of particular relevance to this study. The first is mass communication. Although the liturgical movement has its roots in nineteenth century France, its impact has been global and relatively fast. Every part of Christendom has been affected in some way by this particular movement, mainly because of mass communication. In fact, today the internet makes communication and dissemination of data even faster. Now, more than at any time in history,

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<sup>95</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 71 - 72.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>97</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 318.

<sup>98</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 318.

<sup>99</sup> Stringer, *A Sociological History of Christian Worship*, 209.

data can be accessed anywhere in the world seconds after it has been produced. The second important factor for this chapter is that globalisation has resulted in clashes of culture and identity.<sup>100</sup> Stringer elucidates:

In terms of Christian worship, the main context for this kind of globalisation has been in the debates over inculturation and the realisation that the worship developed and moulded for the Western churches is no longer relevant or applicable to many different parts of the world. The mainstream churches are being forced to take local cultures much more seriously and to see how their worship can be adapted to, or even transformed by, them.<sup>101</sup>

This will be discussed below in more detail.

The work of the Liturgical Movement in the first half of the twentieth century had identified inadequacies in existing liturgies, unveiled reliable ancient models and developed acceptable principles of renewal. Additionally, liturgists from diverse denominational backgrounds were finding that their work covered common ground. However, these exciting developments were still only theoretical and had not yet been tested in mainstream worship.

That all changed when the liturgy of the Church of South India (CSI) was first released in 1950.<sup>102</sup> The Church of South India, one of the first truly ecumenical unions of modern Christianity, had been formed in 1947, a little over a month after the independence of India. The authorities of the new church commissioned a new liturgical committee in 1948 and requested a Eucharistic rite to be ready for the 1950 Synod. The committee comprised no liturgical experts as such, but was headed by Leslie Brown who had considerable experience with the Parish Communion Movement in Britain. Amazingly, this committee deliberated almost entirely via correspondence. The resulting Eucharistic rite was to influence almost every new rite of the later twentieth century.

Among their principal goals was to create a rite that was biblically rich, participatory, steeped in historic rites and culturally sensitive.<sup>103</sup> “[CSI’s] constitution included a skeleton outline of the necessary elements in a communion service.”<sup>104</sup> The ecumenical nature of the committee contributed to the remarkable result. The Basel Mission contingent requested that the penitence be moved to near the beginning of the service “on the ground that we needed cleansing to hear the Word aright, as well as rightly to receive the sacrament.”<sup>105</sup> This move was readily incorporated into South African liturgies, starting with *A Liturgy for Africa* and the *Alternative Forms* of 1969 and

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<sup>100</sup> Stringer, *A Sociological History of Christian Worship*, 209.

<sup>101</sup> Stringer, *A Sociological History of Christian Worship*, 210.

<sup>102</sup> The Order for the Eucharist is included in Appendix A.

<sup>103</sup> Jasper, *The Development of Anglican Liturgy*, 201.

<sup>104</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 250.

<sup>105</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 57.

running through to *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. The congregational recitation of the *Collect for Purity* was introduced and the *Gloria* was moved forward to the beginning of the rite. No doubt this is where the South African custom of saying the *Collect for Purity* originated, despite the fact that the SAPB rubrics only allowed the priest to say the prayer.<sup>106</sup>

One of the main concerns of the Parish Communion Movement was the lack of Old Testament material in their services. BCP 1662 made no provision for either an Old Testament lesson or a psalm in the Eucharist. To remedy this, Brown and his committee restored the ancient practice of including an Old Testament Lesson, Psalm, New Testament Lesson, Canticle/Hymn and Gospel. These inclusions were to influence the liturgical world to a phenomenal degree.<sup>107</sup>

In addition, the Eucharistic canon was interspersed with congregational responses – an orthodox contribution. Although the Orthodox Church had been known for its congregational participation through Eucharistic responses, western Churches had rejected this idea early in the Middle Ages. Most western canons now include these short interjections, or at least allow for congregational participation in the Eucharistic Prayer.<sup>108</sup> The canon also included the prayers of *anamnesis*<sup>109</sup> and *epiclesis*.<sup>110</sup> Dix's four-fold pattern is clearly discernable in the rite with an offertory, blessing, separate fraction<sup>111</sup> and communion. For the first time a revised rite had included almost all the ideals of the Liturgical Movement, and this by a group of "liturgical illiterates."<sup>112</sup> The revolution had begun in earnest.

Ecumenism played an important role in liturgical renewal. The 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh heralded the official beginning of the modern ecumenical movement.<sup>113</sup> It was there that a need for united Christian witness was identified and promoted. In 1920 the Patriarch of Constantinople echoed this desire, calling for an international council of churches. It was not long until conferences at Lausanne (1927) and Edinburgh (1937) had tentatively established "Faith and

<sup>106</sup> *Liturgy 1975* sanctioned this custom officially.

<sup>107</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 248 - 9.

<sup>108</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 56.

<sup>109</sup> "This memorial prayer of remembrance recalls for the worshiping community past events in their tradition of faith that are formative for their identity and self-understanding. The prayers of anamnesis in the various Eucharistic prayers emphasise and make present the saving events of Jesus' death and resurrection" (Armentrout and Slocum, *An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church*, 13).

<sup>110</sup> The invocation of the Holy Spirit, usually associated with ancient Eastern Eucharistic rites. See Armentrout and Slocum, *An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church*, 170.

<sup>111</sup> The breaking of the Eucharistic host.

<sup>112</sup> Kelly, *Liturgy 1975*, 25.

<sup>113</sup> Bartlett argues that ecumenical work had already been established almost a century before with the Evangelical Alliance of 1844. See Bartlett, *A Passionate Balance*, 57.

Order” and “Life and Work” commissions which would eventually result in the establishment of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1948.<sup>114</sup>

Of principal interest here, is the convergence of the Ecumenical Movement with the Liturgical Movement. Ecumenical endeavours on the liturgical front have probably been the most successful result of the drive towards ecclesiastical unity. This is probably because “members of divided Churches find it much easier to pray and witness together than to formulate common dogmatic statements.”<sup>115</sup> In fact, since Vatican II, Roman Catholic and Protestant liturgical revisions have concurred with regard to structure and sometimes even wording.<sup>116</sup> Through ecumenical discussion, consensus regarding many issues surrounding the principal sacraments (Baptism and Eucharist), as well as the Church’s ordained ministry, has been achieved. In particular, Ecumenical Eucharistic theology has played an important role in modern worship trends.<sup>117</sup>

Although the World Council of Churches has produced many helpful and influential documents, the booklet *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (1982) – also called the Lima Document – and its subsequent “Lima Liturgy” are probably the most significant. All member churches of the WCC were asked to comment on their content. Both the Document and Liturgy were known to South African theologians and liturgists. The South African Anglican Theological Commission sent a report containing its observations to the Episcopal Synod.<sup>118</sup> The Commission’s general outlook was positive: “We felt that this was a very remarkable document because of the quite genuine consensus and insight it holds.”<sup>119</sup> The report emphasised the need to consider Baptism as the rite of full church membership, and that it signifies the beginning of a spiritual journey with Christ. Liturgical papers in the Anglican archives also include the “Lima Liturgy”. The Eucharistic rite for *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* had already been prepared by this stage and so this liturgy had little impact, but the Lima Document did influence the rites of baptism and ordination being prepared for APB. Little of this material has any bearing on musical developments at that time, except perhaps on hymnody.

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<sup>114</sup> For a more comprehensive history of the World Council of Churches see Wainwright, *The Ecumenical Moment*.

<sup>115</sup> Wainwright, *Worship With One Accord*, 11.

<sup>116</sup> Wainwright, *The Ecumenical Moment*, 4.

<sup>117</sup> Wainwright elaborates: “... there has grown a recovered awareness of Christian liturgy as the celebration of the paschal mystery, an anamnesis of Christ’s death and resurrection, including the adoption of an annual Easter Vigil by several Anglican and Protestant Churches under the inspiration of the Roman Catholic rite that underwent restoration and renewal... in the 1950s.” Wainwright, *Worship With One Accord*, 5.

<sup>118</sup> *The Lima Report on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry: Comments by the S.A. Anglican Theological Commission*. Anglican archives, WITS University, Johannesburg, AB 2668/18 (no date is given).

<sup>119</sup> Preface of the abovementioned report.

The twentieth century has seen a number of exciting developments in Roman Catholic liturgy. All of these developments have included instruction related to sacred music as well as liturgy. It all began with the *Motu Proprio* of Pope Pius X in 1903, which advocated the reverent use of plainchant in the liturgy – no doubt as a result of the work at Solemnnes.<sup>120</sup> Later Pope Pius XII also supported liturgical innovation with successive influential statements. One of them, an encyclical letter *Mediator Dei* (1947), recommended the “relaxation of the rules of fasting before communion, approval of a new Latin Psalter based on the Hebrew (1945), allowing the use of the vernacular in certain rituals (although not in the Mass or the Divine Office), and restoration of the rites of the Easter Vigil (1953) and Holy Week (1956).”<sup>121</sup>

The promulgation of the *Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy* in 1963 was a watershed moment in the modern history of liturgical renewal throughout the Christian Church. Although the CSI liturgy had blazed the trail some fourteen years before, the developments at Vatican II encouraged most Anglican Provinces to attempt thorough liturgical revision.<sup>122</sup>

It is interesting to note that a number of Roman Catholic innovations appear to affirm some important Reformation liturgical developments.<sup>123</sup> They include vernacular liturgies; a richer use of Biblical material in services; the centrality of Sunday; and a higher view of preaching. The Constitution also validated several tenets of the Liturgical Movement. Two paragraphs are of importance:

Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful should be led to that fully conscious and active participation in the liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy. Such participation by Christian people as ‘a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a redeemed people’ (1 Pet. 2:9; cf. 2:4-5), is their right and duty by reason of their baptism.<sup>124</sup>

The rites should be marked by a noble simplicity; they should be short, clear, and unencumbered by useless repetitions; they should be within the people’s powers of comprehension, and normally should not require much explanation.<sup>125</sup>

Over the next five to ten years, the recommendations of the Constitution were implemented by the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>126</sup> Four of these implementations, in particular, were to have a profound

<sup>120</sup> The monks of Solemnnes did much to revive plainsong. Their scholarly editions of chant books made plainsong accessible to all people. Additionally, the monks performed plainsong daily in their chapel. See Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 212 - 3.

<sup>121</sup> Baldovin, “The Liturgical Movement and Its Consequences”, 251.

<sup>122</sup> Baldovin, “The Liturgical Movement and Its Consequences”, 255.

<sup>123</sup> Baldovin, “The Liturgical Movement and Its Consequences”, 254.

<sup>124</sup> Second Vatican Council, Dogmatic Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* of 4 December 1963, §14, in Jackson, *An Abundance of Graces*, 91.

<sup>125</sup> *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (1963), §34, in Jackson, *An Abundance of Graces*, 94.



effect on contemporary Anglican rites: the Sunday Eucharistic lectionary; Eucharistic prayers; liturgical language; and the Christian initiation of adults.<sup>127</sup> The first three, at least, have had an impact on South African Anglican liturgical reforms.<sup>128</sup>

Cranmer's Tudor English typified Anglican revisions of the early twentieth century. Even though modern English usage had long discarded terms such as "thee" and "thou", their liturgical use still persists in some parishes to this day. However, after Vatican II, Roman Catholic reformers decided to use modern English for their translation of the Latin rites. Anglican liturgists, at that time working closely with the Romans in ecumenical consultations, began experimenting with contemporary English rites. Today all the newer prayer books in English reflect this trend. Several international consultations were instrumental in promoting and designing new English texts.<sup>129</sup>

As a result of Vatican II, the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) was formed in 1963 with members from Australia, Canada, England, Wales, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Pakistan, Scotland, South Africa, and the United States of America. The Commission's first publication was the Roman Missal in English in 1969. Although the ICEL was an exclusively Roman Catholic concern, ecumenical bodies of scholars were inspired to create similar organisations.

Two consultations were established as a result.<sup>130</sup> The ICET was established in 1969 and produced a great number of texts which were used throughout the English speaking world. Their publication, *Prayers we have in common: Agreed liturgical texts prepared by the International Consultation on English Texts* (1970, 1971 and 1975 respectively) included canticles, prayers and responses. In 1975 the ICET ceased its work. Ten years later it was felt that the original ICET texts needed revising and the group was reconstituted as the English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC). The Anglican Church in Southern Africa used a negligible amount of work from the ICET, revising almost all of the texts according to the ELLC's recommendations in 1987, before the publication of APB.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Dobszay argues that the Roman Catholic liturgical reformers did not follow the true intentions of the Constitution. See chapters three, seven and eight of Dobszay, *The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite*.

<sup>127</sup> Baldwin, "The Liturgical Movement and Its Consequences", 255.

<sup>128</sup> APB's lectionary is closely based on the Roman Eucharistic Lectionary, although the contemporary lectionary allows the use of the Revised Common Lectionary simultaneously. The third Eucharistic Prayer is an exact copy of the Second Eucharistic Prayer from the English Roman Missal. And liturgical language coined by the Romans has been used extensively throughout the book. In particular, the Easter Triduum services are from the *Rite of Holy Week* and there are a scattering of selections from *Rite of Funerals*.

<sup>129</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 147 - 156.

<sup>130</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 151.

<sup>131</sup> Bishop Amore reported that the meeting at Brixen of the English Language Liturgical Consultation directly influenced the decisions regarding changes to the ICET's translations of the Nicene Creed, Apostles Creed,

Over the past twenty-five years or so, the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC) has met every two or four years to discuss pertinent issues in Anglican liturgy.<sup>132</sup> The consultations always precede the international meeting of *Societas Liturgica*, an ecumenical group of liturgical scholars. The first two meetings were not recognised by Anglican authorities, but their resolutions were published and widely distributed. However, their 1989 statement, “Down to Earth Worship: Liturgical Inculturation and the Anglican Communion” (also called the “York Statement”) was lauded by the Anglican Consultative Council in 1990, and they were eventually afforded official recognition. Besides localisation, the consultations have addressed baptism and initiation rites (promoting baptism as the rite of church membership), the Eucharist, marriage and funeral rites. Their resolutions have sparked much contemporary liturgical renewal. The earliest conference concerning Baptism, along with the Lima Document, influenced the new rites of APB. Subsequent material from the Southern African Liturgical Committee bears hallmarks of the IALC’s resolutions concerning the Eucharist, the Calendar and matrimony, in particular.<sup>133</sup>

### Anglican liturgy in Africa

The Second Vatican Council was instrumental in sanctioning localisation of the liturgy. Localisation had been one of the founding tenets of Anglicanism. Article Thirty-four of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion states:

It is not necessary that the Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times and men’s manners, so that nothing be ordained against God’s Word... Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man’s authority, so that all things be done to edifying.<sup>134</sup>

However, as the church began its extensive missionary endeavours in the nineteenth century, it all but forgot this important aspect of its own foundation. At the time, British colonialists often believed that the English way of life was God’s ideal for all humankind. It was only by the mid twentieth century that this attitude began to diminish somewhat.

The missionaries faithfully produced the BCP 1662 liturgy in vernacular languages, but they did not attempt to absorb any local traditions into their official liturgies. After Vatican II, Roman Catholic liturgists went about creating indigenous liturgies appropriate for local use. The world-wide Anglican

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Agnus Dei, Song of the Church, Song of Zechariah and Song of Mary. See *Changes to ICET texts by the Liturgical Committee* (October 1987). ACSA Archives AB 2301.

<sup>132</sup> For a detailed history of the Consultations refer to Holeton and Buchanan, *A History of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultations 1983 – 2007*.

<sup>133</sup> Holeton and Buchanan, *A History of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultations*, 29 - 30.

<sup>134</sup> *Book of Common Prayer 1662*, Articles of Religion.

Communion was particularly slow in responding to these cultural adaptations and Southern Africa was no exception.<sup>135</sup>

The 1988 Lambeth Conference passed two resolutions endorsing localisation.<sup>136</sup> The following year IALC produced the influential “York Statement” which fleshed out the theological details and liturgical implications of the two resolutions. A direct result of this was the Kanamai Consultation of African liturgists in May/June 1993. Colin Buchanan and Elisha Mbonigaba gave the keynote addresses. Two South Africans<sup>137</sup> were present at the consultation which issued an important statement setting guidelines and principles for the Africanisation of Anglican liturgy; and addressed theological and cultural issues surrounding the Eucharist, initiation, marriage and funeral rites. A five-member Council-of-Anglican-Provinces-in-Africa Liturgical Committee was appointed by the consultation to organise another gathering within three years. Unfortunately, this further consultation did not materialise.<sup>138</sup>

### Charismatic Movement

The Charismatic Movement has exercised a significant influence on worship in main-line denominational churches. Without doubt, this movement has had lasting implications for liturgy and music in Anglican Churches across the Communion. In fact, so called “contemporary Christian music” is often viewed as a product of the Charismatic Movement.<sup>139</sup>

The precursor to the Charismatic Movement was Pentecostalism. In the opening decades of the twentieth century, this phenomenon was confined to splinter churches scattered across the world,<sup>140</sup> but by the 1950’s its effects were being acknowledged in Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic circles. When Pope Paul XXIII summoned all Roman Catholic Bishops to the Second Vatican Council, he called for a “new Pentecost”.<sup>141</sup> Many saw this as official sanctioning of the movement and by the 1970’s the Charismatic Renewal had emerged. In Southern African Anglicanism, the effects of the movement were first felt in individual parishes, but with the election of Bill Burnett as

<sup>135</sup> Kreider, “Introduction”, 10.

<sup>136</sup> Resolution 22 (Christ and culture) and Resolution 47 (Liturgical freedom) - see Appendix B.

<sup>137</sup> Rev. Cynthia Botha and Ven. Themba Vundla. See Gitari, *Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa*.

<sup>138</sup> The speeches and the Kanamai Statement are all contained in Gitari, *Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa*.

<sup>139</sup> Redman, *The Great Worship Awakening*, 22.

<sup>140</sup> In the United States of America the Azusa Street Revival is traditionally considered the starting point for the Pentecostal Movement. See Redman, *The Great Worship Awakening*, 28.

<sup>141</sup> Fenwick and Spinks: “Many would see the answer to the Pope’s prayer not simply in the reforms initiated by the Council itself, but in the widespread penetration of the Roman Catholic Church by the Charismatic Movement.” Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 108.

Archbishop in the 1970's, the charismatic agenda was promoted and extended.<sup>142</sup> There is no doubt that the movement's introduction into Anglicanism affected liturgy.<sup>143</sup> Certainly some of the changes in the modern South African rite were designed to accommodate a charismatic-style service.

### **New liturgical movement**

In more recent years, a reactionist group called "The New Liturgical Movement" (NLM) has emerged in Roman Catholic circles. It was founded in 2005 by the ex-Anglican, now Roman Catholic priest, Shawn Tribe. The movement seeks to revive a number of the liturgical practices that were abandoned subsequent to Vatican II. These practices include plainsong in the liturgy, the use of Latin, formal Roman vestments, and male-dominated leadership. The latter goes without saying in the ordained ministry of the Roman Church; however, since Vatican II, women have increasingly become a part of lay ministry in parish churches.<sup>144</sup>

The movement continues to gather momentum around the world, especially since it appears that Pope Benedict XVI is a proponent of a number of its ideals. In reality Pope Benedict is not as radical as the NLM. The Pope feels that some liturgical modifications, following Vatican II, are not in keeping with the original intentions of the Constitution. He is proposing that bishops re-examine the *Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy* to see if the church has interpreted its ideals adequately.<sup>145</sup>

It is too early to say whether the movement will have a significant effect in the Anglican Church. Andrew Burnham, an English Anglo-Catholic Bishop, has recently written a book in which he recommends that Anglican liturgy requires "re-enchantment".<sup>146</sup> His argument is that the newer rites have lost the mystery that worship of an all-powerful God should engender. His view on music in liturgy is particularly interesting. Burnham proposes that plainsong should play an integral part in divine worship. Although the bishop is clearly influenced by the NLM, his theological outlook appears to be far broader and more accommodating than his Roman counterparts. Most Anglo-Catholic parishes have benefited from the thought-provoking articles posted on the NLM's webpage. Undoubtedly, the easy access to these educational documents has been the movement's greatest contribution to the rich body of liturgical scholarship.

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<sup>142</sup> Clarke, *Anglicans Against Apartheid*, 308.

<sup>143</sup> For a detailed discussion on the impact of the Charismatic Movement on Anglican liturgy see chapter eleven in Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*.

<sup>144</sup> For more information about the New Liturgical Movement see *The New Liturgical Movement* [[www.newliturgicalmovement.org](http://www.newliturgicalmovement.org)].

<sup>145</sup> Interview with Richard Girdwood.

<sup>146</sup> For more details see Burnham, *Heaven and Earth in a Little Space: The Re-enchantment of Liturgy*.

**Summary**

This chapter has introduced the concept of Anglican partisan politics and sought to demonstrate that Anglican liturgy has its roots in the English Reformation. While it drew on Roman Catholic sources, theologically it tended towards Reformed ideals. After the initial period of introduction in the mid sixteenth century, little in the way of liturgical reform was authorised. In the twentieth century a number of theological developments, liturgical scholarship and sociological changes have necessitated drastic reforms in worship. The Liturgical, Ecumenical and Charismatic Movements have all contributed to this reform process. Additionally, Vatican II and the World Council of Churches have contributed valuable theological insights which have shaped new liturgies. All of these influences have affected South African liturgical reform in some way. Naturally, music in parishes has also been greatly affected by these developments.

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## Chapter Three

### Anglican Repertoire and the Church's Traditional Response to Change

...[Changes] in liturgical understanding and application will always influence the use, and often the content, of the music.<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

The second chapter addressed the reaction of liturgists to theological and social changes in the context of English spirituality, and in particular in the Anglican Church. This chapter explores the history of Anglican music in England by observing how repertoires in the church have responded to major theological, liturgical and sociological changes. Five responses to change in this sphere emerge: Adaptation, Retention, Adoption, Invention, and Revival. These terms and their meanings have been discussed in the introduction.<sup>2</sup> In tandem with this exploration of musical history, I seek to understand how the role of music within the liturgy changes in response to shifts in liturgical, theological and social conditions. Often the liturgical roles of choirs and musicians give clues to the actual role of music within the church, so I explore these aspects too. Before the responses to change are scrutinised, it is important to sketch the nature of music in the pre-Reformation church in order to emphasise the radical nature of the liturgical developments affecting music and musicians which occurred during the Reformation. The reader will recognise a correlation between these upheavals and the liturgical and theological changes of the twentieth century discussed towards the end of this chapter.

#### Before the Reformation

Church music before the Reformation was intimately linked to the Latin rite. In parts of mainland Europe far from Rome, different variations of the Roman Rite developed at major centres, each with their own distinct features. In England the most influential of these variations was the Sarum Rite. Originally generated at Salisbury, it was gradually adopted by churches throughout the English realm<sup>3</sup>, and was of such importance that it was being printed by the early sixteenth century. There were a number of other Uses which the 1549 Prayer Book mentions in its preface: Hereford; Bangor; York; and Lincoln. They were far less influential, and only Hereford's was popular enough to guarantee viability when published.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Beeson, *In Tuneful Accord*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Notice, however, that six terms were discussed in the introduction, whereas only five are present here. "Integration" is specific to the South African context where two musical systems sometimes coexist.

<sup>3</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 175.

The pre-Reformation music scene was a lively one: not only did cathedrals support large choirs of priestly and lay musicians, but monasteries employed singing-men and boy choristers to enrich their daily round of choral services. In addition, a number of gentry supported chantry colleges in their local areas.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the most notable development during this era was the growth of boys' choirs.<sup>6</sup> Under the guidance of a *magister choristarum*, these boys were trained to attain the highest levels of musicianship, particularly in the field of polyphony.<sup>7</sup> It is important to note, however, that at this point in the development of English choirs, there were significantly fewer boys than in the typical cathedral choir of the twenty-first century. Men constituted the bulk of the chorus, while boys added descants and occasionally more intricate polyphony. The reason for this is quite simple. Before the Reformation, the principal melody was still the tenor-range plainchant. Any voices added above the melody were purely for decoration.

In England, sacred music was still dominated by plainchant. Polyphony was popular, but did not pose any significant threat to the eight-century-old plainsong tradition. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries larger choirs ensured new possibilities of contrast and distribution. Additionally, the development of harmonic thinking within the polyphonic idiom was beginning to emerge.<sup>8</sup> One striking characteristic of plainsong and polyphony of this period was the abundance of melismatic phrases. The consequence for singers was an intricate fabric of polyphonic textures. To make matters even more complex, the text underlay in the manuscripts, part books and choir books from this era was not helpful. The singers of the time must have estimated where syllables were to be placed, or perhaps they left them out entirely. Maybe this is what prompted Erasmus to say of English music:

Modern church music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word. The choristers themselves do not understand what they are singing, yet according to priests and monks it constitutes the whole of religion.<sup>9</sup>

Worship of the pre-Reformation church can be divided into three parts: Mass; Office; and extra liturgical devotions. Music for the Mass was most likely impressive on Sundays and feast days when polyphony was probably used for the Ordinary portions. The *Kyrie* was often incorporated into a

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<sup>5</sup> See the account of the College of the Holy Trinity in Arundel, founded by the Earl of Arundel, in Bowers, et al., "New Sources of English Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Polyphony", 302 – 04.

<sup>6</sup> In the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century plainsong was sung mainly by groups of priests and adult lay clerks. Small professional groups of adult singers, who specialised in polyphonic, embellished the plainsong at specified times in the service and on special occasions. By the end of the fifteenth century boys had been introduced to the choir to sing higher parts, and the number of singers trained in polyphony had grown substantially. See Bowers, "To Chorus from Quartet", 1.

<sup>7</sup> Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 176.

<sup>8</sup> Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 174.

<sup>9</sup> le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 11.

trope in the Sarum Use and was thus treated slightly differently from Continental settings of the same text.<sup>10</sup> Guillaume Machaut (c.1300 – 1377) had pioneered the setting of the complete Mass in the fourteenth century, and this trend was common in England by the fifteenth century. Polyphonic settings of the Mass were usually based on a common plainchant *cantus firmus* or recurring opening incipit.<sup>11</sup> Much of the Proper was sung to plainchant, but polyphony was used fairly frequently for the verses of the Alleluia, or as alternate verses of a plainsong Sequence.

Besides the standard Mass of the Day, a devotional “Lady Mass” was common in most churches and cathedrals. Much intricate and extended polyphonic music was written for the Propers of these votive Masses. Benham attributes this to the fact that they “could enjoy regular and frequent use, instead of being restricted to a handful of performances each year as Propers for other Masses would be.”<sup>12</sup>

The usual routine of medieval offices was common throughout England before the Reformation. This included Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. In the Sarum rites, plainsong was dominant, and polyphony featured in few places. It was reserved principally for Vespers, where the Magnificat was treated with special attention.<sup>13</sup> Hymns and responds were also sometimes elaborated, these settings usually requiring plainsong-polyphonic alternation. Additionally, Marian votive antiphons, sung at the conclusion of Compline, were often polyphonic works of great popularity.<sup>14</sup>

Although it is clear that organ music featured in sacred services from as early as 1430,<sup>15</sup> there are very few extant manuscripts of these works.<sup>16</sup> However, despite the dearth of evidence, it seems clear that liturgical organ music was based largely on plainchant melodies. Scholars are fairly certain that the organ was seldom used for accompanying the choir,<sup>17</sup> but the occasional organ prelude was substituted for a psalm, canticle or Ordinary verse to give the choir a breathing space.<sup>18</sup> On special occasions it was often required of the organist to play a postlude after the psalm.<sup>19</sup> This tradition

<sup>10</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 9 - 12.

<sup>11</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 9.

<sup>12</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 14.

<sup>13</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 19.

<sup>15</sup> John Stele had been employed to teach organ, see in Bowers, et al., “New Sources of English Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Polyphony”, 135.

<sup>16</sup> Franck Howes suggests that the only remaining organ music from the pre-Reformation era dates from between 1525 and 1545. See Howes, “Pre-Reformation Organ Music in England”, 2.

<sup>17</sup> Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 177.

<sup>18</sup> Caldwell, “Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England”, 130.

<sup>19</sup> Howes, “Pre-Reformation Organ Music in England”, 2.



persisted beyond the Reformation and was popular right up until the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> In the Mass, the organist was often required to play sections of the antiphon, offertory, hymn, and during the Ordinary.<sup>21</sup>

The role of church music at the start of the Reformation is of importance. A passage from *Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England* (written in the early 1540's) sums up the late medieval attitude towards music:

The sober, discreet and devout singing, music and playing with organs used in the church, for the service of God are ordained to move and stir the people to the sweetness of God's word the which is there sung and not understood, and by that sweet harmony both excite them to prayers and devotion and also to put them in remembrance, of the heavenly triumphant church, where is everlasting joy with continual laud and praise to God.<sup>22</sup>

By this time, music had become an indispensable part of liturgical celebrations. While chant began as a heightened form of cantillation and an aural beautification of rites, it soon developed into a symbolic reflection of the medieval conception of Godly and natural complexity.<sup>23</sup> Thus, it became, like the liturgy, increasingly intricate. Larger churches, monasteries and cathedrals were able to add a complex polyphonic repertoire to their liturgies, especially on feast days, principally because their wealth could support numerous professional singers. Smaller parish churches, where there was a trained musician, offered far simpler chant repertoire - priests and clerks were sometimes equipped to sing at least the basic chant formulas.<sup>24</sup> Although a said mass or office was not uncommon at the time, it was certainly more desirable to have a sung mass.<sup>25</sup> Thus, musically embellished services became normative.

Another feature of pre-Reformation music is that its performance was the preserve of trained elite clergy musicians. Essentially, choristers and singers made responses and offered worship on behalf of the congregation. In other words, they were intermediaries between God and the people. This is why, by and large, adult singers and musicians were required to be ordained clergy or in minor orders. This effectively silenced the laity in official church settings. So, besides serving to beautify liturgical celebrations and symbolically depict the complexity of God in creation, both chant and polyphony were explicitly *kerygmatic* tools, i.e. a highly trained specialist conveys the word of God through music to a non-specialised group. Whether music actually did impart the word of God is

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<sup>20</sup> Temperley, "Anglican and Episcopalian Church Music", *Grove Online*.

<sup>21</sup> Howes, "Pre-Reformation Organ Music in England", 3.

<sup>22</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 163.

<sup>23</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *A Brief History of Christian Music*, 55.

<sup>24</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 9.

<sup>25</sup> Schaefer, *Catholic Music Through the Ages*, 45.

debatable. For example, one of the implications of using Latin was that the “word” was rendered unintelligible to most ordinary people because English was the *lingua Franca* (never mind the undisciplined way in which the text was placed in polyphonic settings at the time). In reality, then, the beauty of the music and its symbolic complexity certainly must have been appreciated, but more as a performance than as a rational delivery of the “word”. As a result, an increasing dissatisfaction with the role of music in liturgy arose during the fifteenth century. There were two main arguments against this practice. Firstly, the complexity of musical offerings did not reflect the simplicity of the Gospel.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, the exorbitant cost of musical elaboration was scandalous.<sup>27</sup> Both of these complaints were addressed during the Reformation.

### The Reformation

Before BCP 1549 was introduced, a number of political developments had necessitated musical changes which were not explicitly linked to liturgical renewal. First, and foremost, was the dissolution of the monasteries (c. 1536 - c. 1540). Within those few years, the entire monastic system and its Latin musical tradition had been completely destroyed. The dissolution had other musical consequences. Perhaps the most important was that royal supremacy ensured that the Chapel Royal became pre-eminent among all choral foundations. In essence, during the next two hundred years many of the most significant liturgical and musical developments would be directed by the tastes of the monarch.<sup>28</sup>

The suppression of the monasteries was already underway when Cranmer began experimenting with vernacular liturgy. The first published English litany had a significant impact on musical composition. On 7 October 1544,<sup>29</sup> the Archbishop wrote to Henry VIII concerning the new translation of the litany. He requested that the litany be set to music (or to “solemn note”), but added this important provision:

But in my opinion, the song that should be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly...<sup>30</sup>

Although this suggestion was intended for the litany, Cranmer went on to recommend that this compositional system be used only for all the congregational portions of the service, i.e. it did not

<sup>26</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *A Brief History of Christian Music*, 87.

<sup>27</sup> See Thomas Becon’s scathing review of church music in le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 12.

<sup>28</sup> Temperley, “Anglican and Episcopalian Church Music”, *Grove Online*.

<sup>29</sup> This direction is given by Cranmer a year before the Council of Trent began in 1545. It was at this council some years later that the Roman Church directed composers along a similar route. See Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 74.

<sup>30</sup> Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 28.

necessarily signal the demise of professional choral music altogether. In fact, it is unclear in the letter whether this statement was intended for implementation in Cathedrals as well as parishes. By 1548 an injunction from Lincoln suggests that Cathedrals were not exempt.<sup>31</sup>

Composers took up the gauntlet and began to compose both ferial and festal music in this way. The epitome of this style was John Merbecke's *Book of Common Prayer Noted* (1550). Here, Merbecke (c. 1510 – c. 1585) was careful to set each syllable to one note. He based some of the melodies on existing plainchant, simplifying the melodies to suit congregational use.<sup>32</sup> Other sections are original compositions. Since he and Cranmer were acquaintances, it is fairly certain that Merbecke worked closely under the Archbishop's direction.<sup>33</sup> Of interest here is that Merbecke deliberately used a style that was already familiar. He drew on existing theoretical models, keeping the basic chant style intact, while complying with the demands of linguistic simplicity and eligibility. It is conceivable that in larger churches and cathedrals, experienced singers could have improvised polyphony above a number of the longer chants without compromising the integrity or clarity of the words, and perhaps this is what happened in some places. In fact, surviving settings of simple canticles also contain the popular plainsong-polyphony technique, where one verse is set to a psalm tone and the succeeding one is polyphonically embellished.<sup>34</sup> In essence then, the style of these compositions is certainly in the plainchant tradition, and although there are new linguistic considerations, they are a continuation of existing repertoires. This makes them early examples of adaptation.

For some musicians, the run up to the BCP 1549 must have seemed like a disaster. With the introduction of the vernacular liturgy, a whole corpus of medieval plainsong and other liturgical/musical elements disappeared overnight. But the BCP 1549 did cater for formal music. In fact, it was designed to be choral.<sup>35</sup> A significant portion of the Communion service retained recognisable sung sections, such as the *Gloria* and *Kyrie*. In addition the introit and psalm verses were retained - probably sung to Sarum psalm tones. And of course, Merbecke's *Prayer Book Noted* offered a model, if nothing else, of how to adapt existing traditions for the newer rites.

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<sup>31</sup> le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 9.

<sup>32</sup> This is according to Richard Terry (1865 - 1938) who undertook a critical study of the music contained in the book published by Merbecke. See Terry, "John Merbecke", 82 - 83.

<sup>33</sup> The *Book of Common Prayer Noted* would only have been used for about eighteen months before the 1552 edition was published. Merbecke, a well trained professional church musician, was also a theologian, producing the first English concordance of the Bible. However, he seems to have renounced formal church music later in his life in accordance with strict Protestant ideals. It seems likely this is why he never sought to produce a sequel to the *Book of Common Prayer Noted* (1550). See le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 22.

<sup>34</sup> See for example, Orlando Gibbons' fauxbourdon settings of the Magnificat (published by Novello and co., 1921).

<sup>35</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 82.

In contrast, BCP 1552 was not as musically friendly. Rubrics concerning music almost completely disappeared (only the *Gloria* was allowed to be sung), and portions such as the Introit, *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei* (texts which had traditionally been set to music) had been removed.<sup>36</sup> And, according to the rubrics, music and musicians were no longer considered necessary for worship. Some clergy and musicians decided to interpret these rubrics rather liberally, for we know that full services were sung in some churches at least. This may have been a widespread phenomenon in wealthier centres.

Musically, BCP 1559 offered more freedom. Elizabeth permitted musical items before and after services through Royal Injunction XLIX - this will be discussed a little later.<sup>37</sup> Additionally, at Evening prayer an "anthem" was provided for<sup>38</sup> and in many churches the choir was moved from the sanctuary to the west-end gallery.<sup>39</sup> This signals a change of role for the choir. They were no longer a part of the sanctuary party, but rather members of the congregation. While in the Communion rite of BCP 1552 only the *Gloria* was permitted to be sung, by 1559 the rubrics had changed and most of the congregational parts were either to be sung or said.<sup>40</sup>

What then was being sung in services during the early Reformation? At first, church repertoires must have been a muddle of elements from the Latin tradition and the newer English repertory. It must be emphasised that composers continued to write Latin liturgical works all through the first decades of the Reformation in England, at least until 1559 when the Sarum Rite was finally outlawed.<sup>41</sup> That being noted, the BCP 1559 was translated into Latin the following year and authorised for use in universities and Royal chapels where Latin was understood by the congregation.<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth herself appears to have preferred the Latin translation. Surely her musicians would have written music to accompany Latin services, not to mention their university chapel counterparts?<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, it seems that Elizabeth was fairly unconcerned about the fact that a number of her chapel "gentlemen" were practising Roman Catholics. William Byrd (1543 - 1623) was one of these, and he contributed a number of Latin Masses and motets after 1559, published in full knowledge of the queen. Although these motets were mostly in the new style of composition, the mere fact that Latin

<sup>36</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 108.

<sup>37</sup> Royal injunction XLIX. See le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 32 - 33.

<sup>38</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 125. By 1662 this injunction would become a legal rubric and would ensure the development of a peculiarly English musical genre.

<sup>39</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 127.

<sup>40</sup> Note that in the rubrics themselves, "sung" always precedes "said", perhaps implying the desirability of sung texts.

<sup>41</sup> Bowers, et al., "New Sources of English Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Polyphony", 304.

<sup>42</sup> Wohlers, "Liber Precum Publicarum".

<sup>43</sup> Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 308.

texts were in use signals a case of retention and a harking back to pre-Reformation times - a type of historicity common after major political and social upheavals.<sup>44</sup>

Some musicians had foreseen the coming vernacular changes and had begun setting devotional and Biblical material from Primers in English well before 1549. Texts from primers by Marshall (1535), Hilsey (1539) and the King (1545) are all represented in early part-books.<sup>45</sup> Thus, when parliament decreed that the first *Book of Common Prayer* was to be in use throughout the realm by 4 June 1549, a small repertoire of music to support this liturgy already existed. The Wanley Part-books, one of the most important Edwardian sources, contain a number of pieces which pre-date the BCP 1549 and 1552 by as many as ten years.<sup>46</sup>

The more obvious liturgical changes which affected music in the Office and Mass have been discussed briefly. However, a number of other important developments took place during the sixteenth century which not only necessitated new repertoires, but gave Anglican music its unique place in the corpus of Christian music. The first of these is the development of the Anthem.

The genesis of the English anthem can be traced back to the pre-Reformation period. As has already been noted, it was common for chantry choirs to sing a devotional antiphon<sup>47</sup> in honour of the Virgin Mary at the end of Vespers or Compline.<sup>48</sup> It would have been hard to continue writing Marian votives in the wake of Henry VIII's reforming legislation as far back as 1536. Benham notes:

None of these Acts prohibits votive antiphons - or even directly mentions them - but there is a new attitude to Saints and images (before which antiphons were often sung), an awareness of the dangers of 'superstition'.<sup>49</sup>

In other words, a major theological shift began to affect church repertoires. But, as Benham says, votives themselves had not been outlawed. Thus, when the newer offices of Morning and Evening Prayer were introduced, the tradition continued, except that the texts for these works tended to focus on Biblical material rather than on Marian or saintly votives. Here Reformation composers displayed the attribute of adaptation to ensure that the treasured antiphons did not die out

<sup>44</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 162.

<sup>45</sup> See le Huray's inventory of the Wanley Part-books: le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 173 – 75.

<sup>46</sup> Long suggests that the two English Masses by Taverner contained in the part-books were adapted from the Latin originals by the composer himself before he died in 1545 (Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 64).

<sup>47</sup> The word "anthem" is actually an Anglicisation of the word "antiphon". Armentrout and Slocum, *An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church*, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Evensong is a liturgical combination of Vespers and Compline, so it was natural that the Marian votive would retain its position at the end of the office, at least until the mid-seventeenth century. In 1662 the prayer book revisers added several prayers after the collects and thus necessitated the "In quires and places where they sing, here follows the anthem" rubric. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 186 - 87.

<sup>49</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 162.

completely. As a result, they gifted Anglicanism with the new genre of the English anthem which has thrived ever since.

Another important development was the gradual transformation of the plainsong Psalm-tones into Anglican chant. Merbecke provided a number of examples of how the Latin tones could be adapted for English psalms in the *Prayer Book Noted* (1550), although he only used a few of the eight tones. Thomas Morley (c.1557 - 1602) included harmonisations of all eight tones in his famous treatise *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1597)<sup>50</sup> - an indication that it was common at the time to harmonise the tones. In fact, faburden technique in psalm tones had been well established for some decades before the Reformation, so this was not a particularly important step.<sup>51</sup> At this point in Anglican chant's history, the most remarkable fact was that the Psalms tones were adapted to suit the English language.<sup>52</sup>

An indirect development related to liturgical change was the emergence of metrical psalmody. In 1559, Elizabeth I (r. 1558 - 1603) permitted the singing of music before and after services.<sup>53</sup> While this injunction was aimed primarily at professional choirs and musicians, essentially allowing for the singing of anthems, it inadvertently also opened the door for congregational psalmody. Coverdale had already translated a number of German chorales into English during Henry VIII's reign, and these along with newer translations soon became popular in parish churches. Sternhold and Hopkin's<sup>54</sup> version of the English Psalter (also called the 'Old Version')<sup>55</sup> was most successful, and was well established by the time Elizabeth I ascended to the throne. Theologically and musically these new translations were Calvinistic in flavour, the tunes often being published without harmony.<sup>56</sup> More significantly, the metrical psalms represent a *leitourgic* model of music which had been entirely unknown in England before the Reformation. Colin Buchanan has observed that this "Elizabethan Injunction opened the way for both the 18<sup>th</sup> century Evangelical Revival, and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Catholic Revival, as both movements relied heavily on popular hymnody to popularise their respective pieties and doctrines."<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 158.

<sup>51</sup> Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 290 - 91.

<sup>52</sup> Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 290 - 91.

<sup>53</sup> This injunction can be seen in le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 32 - 3.

<sup>54</sup> Sternhold had already written a number of psalms for King Edward VI in the late 1540's, but he died in 1549. Hopkins, along with a number of other colleagues, added to Sternhold's thirteen works and by 1562 the psalter was complete. See Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, 13 - 14.

<sup>55</sup> It was named after the two principal contributors: Thomas Sternhold (1500 - 1545) and John Hopkins.

<sup>56</sup> le Huray, *Music and the English Reformation*, 371.

<sup>57</sup> Botha, "Worship and Anglican Identity", 14.

The theological importance of the “word”, and consequently the vernacular, was foremost in the Reformers’ minds. This requirement coincided with the growing philosophical and musical interest in the importance of sacred text in general - characteristic of the Renaissance. This theological and philosophical shift challenged composers to allow the texts they were setting to determine both the rhythm and the contours of their music.<sup>58</sup> This technique is often referred to as “point” writing.<sup>59</sup> Structurally it signalled a break from the plainsong tradition where compositions tended to be melodically inspired. As a result, an entirely original corpus of compositions, no longer based on an existing chant, sprang into existence. This development, however, is not explicitly linked to changes in liturgy, nor is it exclusively an English phenomenon. Rather, it reflects a change in sociological and theological understanding, which directly influenced the composition of music, and created a completely new repertoire of sacred music. In fact, it helped to create the foundations of functional tonality and later Baroque sacred and secular choral and operatic developments. This is an example of invention, particularly in response to the burgeoning ideological developments of the Enlightenment.

So, liturgical and theological revision did indeed necessitate rather drastic changes in repertoire. But the role of music also was affected. Since music was no longer the principal conveyor of the liturgy, or considered necessary for the beautification of worship, new roles began to emerge. Luther and Calvin had insisted that congregational participation was essential in Christian worship. They were reacting against two things: firstly, the clerically dominated services; and secondly the theological implications of singers worshipping on behalf of congregants, both of which were typical in the Roman Catholic Church at the time. One of the most obvious places for lay participation was in music. For Luther this meant retaining the best of the polyphonic tradition (trained singers/choirs) while introducing congregational chorales. Thus the congregation participated both by listening and singing, perhaps best summed up in Pass’ *koinoniac* model. Calvin took a more radical approach, allowing no professional music-making in worship, with only the congregation providing simple psalmody. Here the *leitourgic* model is evident, in which everyone participates while God listens. In England, things were slightly different. Temperley summarises Cranmer’s position on music:

[He] brought the music of the service closer to the people in several ways: by substituting the vernacular for the Latin language in the case of the processional of 1544, and by publishing English forms of the Latin texts in primers for private use; by trimming the more florid forms of polyphony, and bringing in a simpler musical style that allowed the text to be clearly heard; and by allowing ordinary parishioners to join in choirs with trained musicians, at least

<sup>58</sup> Mateer, “John Baldwin and Changing Concepts of Text Underlay”, 143 - 44.

<sup>59</sup> Harper, “The English Anthem Collection”, 2.

in the singing of the chant. But he stopped short of the ultimate step, which would allow the whole congregation to sing its own music in worship.<sup>60</sup>

Ultimately, Cranmer's position did not triumph. Congregational singing did become the norm in parish churches. In fact, parishes took on a more Calvinistic musical approach, almost exclusively singing metrical psalms - in other words a *leitourgic* model. Furthermore, in many churches choirs completely died out - there being no role for them to fulfil. In contrast, cathedrals tended to prefer professional music making, keeping congregational participation to a minimum - a *kerygmatic* model. Ironically this maintained the theological distance between the congregation and the clergy and choristers. Essentially this led to a split in musical traditions in the Church of England: a congregational model for parishes, a professional model for cathedrals. The unifying element for these concurrent traditions was the *Book of Common Prayer*, which amazingly allowed both to flourish.

### Seventeenth century

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Anglicanism began to settle theologically, establishing norms in worship and practice. The extended peace of Elizabeth I's long reign ensured that musicians had ample opportunity to flex their creative wings. It also became apparent as time progressed that the 1559 English rite was a permanent feature and would require much in the way of companion musical settings. As such, church composers turned their attention largely to service music and anthems in the vernacular often in the "point" style described above. Thus, they continued to add to the growing Anglican repertoire, some innovative, others using techniques of adaptation. However, since the Anglican liturgy required significantly less musical accompaniment than the Roman Mass, the Anglican musician's significance as a liturgical composer gradually declined.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless, many scholars consider this time as the golden age of English music. Towering figures, the likes of Thomas Tallis (c. 1505 – 1585), Christopher Tye (c. 1505 – 1573), William Byrd (1543 – 1623), Thomas Morley (c.1557 – 1602), Thomas Weelkes (c.1576 – 1623) and Orlando Gibbons (1583 – 1625) dominated the era and created a corpus of truly magnificent and original music.

The golden era did not last for long however. Once the Puritans had gained political power, one of the first things they did was abolish the *Book of Common Prayer*, replacing it with the *Westminster Directory*. This worship directory was not a liturgical manual and did not contain "rubrics". But, one

<sup>60</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 13.

<sup>61</sup> Davies, *Worship and Theology in England (Vol. 1)*, 402.



thing it did include was an elucidation on the benefits of singing metrical psalms.<sup>62</sup> Puritans believed that sacred music was intended to be exclusively congregational, unaccompanied and entirely biblical - a very Calvinist standpoint. And, for the first time, congregants were required to consciously praise God within their hearts while singing. Of course, the metrical Psalms were already well known in England and the strong Calvinist influence from the Continent undoubtedly contributed to their ascendancy.<sup>63</sup> Sadly, the triumph of Puritan church music also involved the demise of all other styles of sacred music during the Commonwealth. Cromwell's armies systematically destroyed both organs and vast collections of choir and part-books. Additionally, large numbers of musicians were dismissed and left without work or hope.

Under Cromwell the distinction between "sacred" and "secular" also became increasingly demarcated. Before this, composers had not consciously distinguished between "sacred" and "secular" when composing polyphonic music.<sup>64</sup> But since the cultivated style of cathedral music had virtually been outlawed by the Puritans, only simple unison or homophonic psalm tunes were considered suitable for the church. In essence, ecclesiastical music needed to impart the "word" in a straightforward and accessible manner, so as not to compete with the purpose of praising God within the soul. This understanding of the role of music is essentially *leitourgic*, particularly because it espouses the exclusive use of the Psalms as suitable texts. While music was fulfilling this particular function in church, cultivated music moved to the secular arena. Davis and Routley have attempted to show that Puritans were not musically illiterate, nor in opposition to art music in general. Published music of the time reveals a great interest in chamber and solo secular music of the highest standards.<sup>65</sup>

Charles II returned to England in 1660 and promptly reintroduced Prayer Book worship. Within months, choirs were re-established along with their daily choral routines. The process of reconstituting choirs and choral foundations was a long and arduous process. Some choirs had managed to preserve their part-books in private libraries, but most had little to begin with. Because the *Book of Common Prayer* had not been extensively revised, the older editions of music written

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<sup>62</sup> "It is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly by singing of psalms, together in the congregation, and also privately in the family. In the singing of psalms the voice is to be tuneably and gravely ordered; but the chief care must be to sing with understanding and with grace in the heart." Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 62.

<sup>63</sup> Davies, *Worship and Theology in England (Vol. 1)*, 390.

<sup>64</sup> Routley, *The Church and Music*, 126.

<sup>65</sup> "Puritans privately encouraged music, dancing, and portrait painting. If they were unable to encourage the use of organs and orchestras in divine worship, it was not that they disliked art, but that they loved religion more." (Davies, *Worship and Theology in England (Vol. 2)*, 254). Routley accepts Percy Scholes' argument that the Puritans encouraged music of the highest standard outside church services (Routley, *The Church and Music*, 144).

before the Commonwealth could be performed without any alteration. At first church musicians looked back to the composers and musicians of the Elizabethan era to gain inspiration for the revived liturgy. This is a classic example of revival to suit the needs of a temporary contemporary situation. Just before the Commonwealth, Bernard had published a collection of popular works entitled *Selected Church Music* (1641). In many cathedrals and churches it replaced the part-books which had been destroyed by the Puritan government.<sup>66</sup> At first, it appears that weekly choral services were the norm, daily services only being introduced after the choir had been fully established, and was familiar with the revived repertoire. In provincial cathedrals the standards must have varied widely. The low salaries and poor training of the choir masters and organists surely contributed to this state of affairs. Nevertheless, a number of premier cathedrals managed to attain a fairly high standard. Dearnley notes that,

If the services at Salisbury, for instance, had not been well sung it is unlikely that George Herbert would have left his parish duties to attend twice every week. Nor could he have said, apropos of these excursions, 'that his time spent in Prayer, and Cathedral Musick, elevated his Soul, and was his Heaven upon Earth.'<sup>67</sup>

Parish music seemed to have weathered the Commonwealth period and Restoration without much disturbance. After the Restoration the liturgy, which was designed to accommodate the participation of the laity, became increasingly a performance by the priest and his assistants. In fact, the gap between clergy and laity increased dramatically. Gradually the liturgy became a dull monotony which congregations patiently endured.<sup>68</sup> But there was still one place where the congregation traditionally participated - metrical psalmody. This had been nurtured and strongly promoted during the Commonwealth. The high church leaders of the church at the Restoration were not particularly concerned with the singing of psalms, since they did not consider them part of the liturgy.<sup>69</sup> However, they continued to be highly popular in parishes. During the Commonwealth, the Puritans had introduced one rather unfortunate technique: lining out.<sup>70</sup> Musically, this technique was a disaster, ruining any form of musical phrase. It also had the effect of slowing the tempo to a dirge-

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<sup>66</sup> Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 66.

<sup>67</sup> Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 77 - 78.

<sup>68</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 86.

<sup>69</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 88. Elizabeth I had permitted music to be sung before and after the liturgy, and so, as long as the psalms remained outside of the liturgy, they posed no particular threat.

<sup>70</sup> For a detailed description of 'lining out', see Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 89 - 91.

like pace.<sup>71</sup> This practice persisted beyond the Restoration and continued well into the eighteenth century.

As we have seen, the role of music changed several times in the seventeenth century, in relation to the dominant theological perspective. While Puritans were in the ascendancy, church music was considered inessential, and the only form of the art permitted in services was unaccompanied congregational psalm singing.<sup>72</sup> As a result, choirs, organists and organs were no longer necessary. With the return of the monarchy, church music in all its fullness was revived and became a treasured feature of worship. The role of music in parishes changed very little during this period, despite the liturgical and political upheaval - it was still *leitorgic*. Cathedrals experienced the greatest changes. They started the century with outstanding choral traditions, which were systematically dismantled by the 1650's, and which were gradually restored after 1660. In these churches the role of music changed from *kerygmatic* to *leitorgic* and then back to *kerygmatic* in the space of twenty years. The *kerygmatic* style of worship must have been deeply entrenched within certain echelons of English society, because it could easily have been lost after the musical destruction of the Commonwealth. Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, cathedrals were still evidencing vestiges of medieval roles of music within the church - where the clergy and choir worshipped on behalf of the congregation.

### **Eighteenth century**

During the eighteenth century there were no official changes on the liturgical front. However, McCart argues that the introduction of hymns (and the subsequent legal furore concerning the legality of hymnody and psalmody in Anglican worship) was the first in a wave of many unofficial changes in liturgical performance which continued into the nineteenth century.<sup>73</sup> Thus, what follows is an analysis of how the BCP was interpreted musically through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What soon becomes apparent, is that the role of church music changes gradually as theological and social developments take hold in the public's psyche.

John Wesley (1703 - 1791) and his brother Charles (1707 - 1788) came to the fore towards the middle of the eighteenth century and their ministry affected hundreds and thousands of folk, both in Britain and abroad. It was not only their message of salvation which was revolutionary, but their congregational hymns which imparted this theology to the ordinary people and embedded it in their

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<sup>71</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 98.

<sup>72</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 84.

<sup>73</sup> McCart, *The Matter and Manner of Praise*, 117.

minds.<sup>74</sup> At this time metrical Psalms still dominated congregational worship<sup>75</sup> and in some parishes Wesleyan hymns came as a welcome relief.<sup>76</sup> Both of the Wesley brothers appreciated the cathedral music tradition,<sup>77</sup> and they sought to set their hymns to well-written tunes by the likes of J. F. Lampe (1703 – 51).<sup>78</sup> These aria-like tunes have remained in use since their composition and are still popular today. Other non-conformist writers also contributed hymns which eventually filtered into Anglican worship, the most important being Isaac Watts (1674 - 1748). However, Wesleyan and non-conformist hymns were not immediately accepted in most Anglican circles. Metrical Psalms continued to predominate in parish churches. In a sense, this is an example of retention. Often congregations found it more appealing to retain an inherited tradition rather than to introduce changes. And although the introduction of hymns cannot be considered a response to liturgical change per se, it was a theological reaction to social conditions of the time.

Another major development during the eighteenth century in Anglican parishes was the formation of small church choirs. “A group of parishioners would meet together, perhaps in the vestry or outside the church altogether, to learn the principles of music notation from a travelling teacher or from the parish clerk, and to rehearse the psalm tunes in harmony.”<sup>79</sup> This type of music making (adding harmony below the congregation’s tune) is a fantastic example of *koinoniac* music, principally because the integrity of the congregation’s song is not compromised, and the choir still has a specific role, i.e. everybody is singing and everybody is listening. But this did not last long. Over time, as the musical abilities of the singers improved, they sought more difficult music to enrich their repertoire. In some parishes an anthem was sung either before or after the service, so as not to disturb the liturgy or draw too much attention to the singers.<sup>80</sup> Additionally, this position of the anthem ensured that the active singing role of the congregation during services was not compromised. Collections of anthems, of varying quality, were eagerly published and distributed among country parishes. In comparison with the Reformation almost two centuries before, where the role of parish choirs became somewhat blurred, the eighteenth century parish choir found a purpose, quietly developing a tradition which required training and in which the congregation did

<sup>74</sup> See Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 204 - 223 and Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, 43 - 44.

<sup>75</sup> By this time Tate and Brady had been in use for some time, although it is certain that Sternhold and Hopkins still reigned in some churches. Watts had also begun introducing his hymns, although at first these were “modern interpretations” of the Psalms. See Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, 15.

<sup>76</sup> Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, 44.

<sup>77</sup> John appears to have preferred simpler music than Charles (Stevenson, *Patterns of Protestant Church Music*, 132).

<sup>78</sup> Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, 44.

<sup>79</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 152.

<sup>80</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 163.

not actively participate. At first the purpose was simply to add harmony to the psalms, later it developed into performing *kerygmatic* anthems. Note however, that the anthems did not become liturgical items within the official service.

If a church did not have an organ to support the harmonic singing, instrumentalists were encouraged to join the singing group. Although parish bands were few and far between at first, by the end of the century, many parochial churches could boast of a large group with a variety of instruments.<sup>81</sup> Some of these groups reached excellent standards and could rival professional musicians, but by and large, parish bands were probably fairly inconsistent musically. During the century, the west-end gallery for the singers came into vogue. This surely contributed to the prestige which accompanied a position in the church's choral and instrumental groups. The music of these choirs and bands was not highly regarded by professional musicians of the day, but a number of clergy recognised the pastoral benefits and allowed them to continue in many parishes.<sup>82</sup>

In the social realm, the distinction between sacred and secular became ever wider. Music, in particular, would suffer considerably from this unfortunate theological and social development. "It came to be felt that the music of worship must be distinct in all respects, including even the identity of the performers, from the song and dance of secular life; and that those who provided it must have God, not music, uppermost in their minds."<sup>83</sup> Many parish musicians were also village minstrels, who provided music for any number of different occasions, and this brought them into direct conflict with many clergy who felt that church musicians should be a breed apart from the humdrum of everyday life.<sup>84</sup>

Although the eighteenth century was fairly quiet liturgically, there were significant developments in the role of music in church, especially at parish level. In these churches choirs began to develop, with a clear role within the community: providing harmony for the psalms and offering rehearsed items before and after the service. Here we see the foundation of *kerygmatic* view of worship which developed fully in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century, parishes were still basically *leitourgic*. Equally interesting is that church music styles became more and more distinct from secular music. The result was progressively more conservative church repertoires. But, due to the hymn writing explosion during the century, art music also found a footing in parishes. In particular, the Wesleys encouraged the writing of well-constructed tunes. In

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<sup>81</sup> Temperley suggests, "The period when bands were commonest was roughly 1780 – 1830" (Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 197).

<sup>82</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 202.

<sup>83</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 201.

<sup>84</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 202.

fact, through the Wesleys, a whole new corpus of high quality hymn texts and tunes was introduced. This was important for the laity, who were beginning to grow in independence and were thus expected to be involved in worship in a meaningful way.

### Nineteenth century

The foundational musical and poetic work of the eighteenth century hymn writers, coupled with the zeal of Evangelical educational techniques began to bear significant fruit. Up until this time, generally speaking, congregational music had been led either by a small parish band<sup>85</sup> or by a barrel organ. A small number of parishes had proper organs, but these were few and far between, and finding skilled players for them was equally difficult. The organ and choristers were usually situated in the west gallery. Liturgically, congregational participation was limited to the singing of metrical psalms or hymns, which by this time had crept into the liturgy itself (usually before and after the sermon).<sup>86</sup>

Some parishes were beginning to establish choral traditions. By 1818 Leeds Parish Church had a surpliced choir of men and boys who chanted both the psalms and the canticles.<sup>87</sup> Other parishes were also experimenting in this direction before the 1830's. This was not the general picture, however. Parish music was characterised by dirge-like Psalm singing in cold and unsightly church buildings. This must have been of little comfort to the "victims" of the industrial revolution whose lives were anything but colourful and happy and it is not surprising that they found the "ritualists"<sup>88</sup> and their style of worship so appealing. Suddenly churches of great beauty were the desire of many simple neighbourhoods. These churches, with their great liturgical performances, magnificent robes and clouds of incense, took the people directly to a heavenly realm that transcended their world of awful drabness.

Without a doubt, the Oxford Movement was the foremost catalyst of musical development in church music during the nineteenth century, although Temperley cautions, "Many of the innovations often carelessly credited to the Tractarians – the chanting of psalms, the singing of the liturgy, the interest in ancient music, the surpliced choir of men and boys – were in fact already in existence before [Keble's Assize sermon]."<sup>89</sup> However, it is safe to say that without the Oxford Movement many of these innovations would not have had willing advocates. At first the movement was a theological

<sup>85</sup> The instruments most common in these bands were clarinets, oboes, bassoons and cellos. See Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 197 - 98.

<sup>86</sup> Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 326.

<sup>87</sup> Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 326.

<sup>88</sup> The second generation Tractarians.

<sup>89</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 249.

phenomenon, but within a few years, ceremony, architecture and music were among its reforming priorities. These developments have been credited generally to the Camden Society which was formed in 1839.<sup>90</sup> This society worked tirelessly to promote its ideas regarding ecclesiology, liturgiology and musicology. The great hymn translator John Mason Neale (1818 – 1866) was among its founders.

At the heart of a good deal of Tractarian theology was a desire to restore dignified prayer book worship and the active participation of the congregation, especially in singing.<sup>91</sup> There were those, of course, who also believed that parishes should emulate cathedrals, where a choir offered music on behalf of the congregation, but by and large this was not the case with purist Anglo-Catholics.<sup>92</sup> Many Tractarians were sceptical of hymnody at first, but their research showed that it had been an integral part of early church worship. In response, they encouraged the translation of ancient Greek and Latin hymns (Neale spent tireless hours translating and versifying ancient hymns and sequences)<sup>93</sup> and the composition of newer hymns which reflected the movement's theological standpoint. Here is a clear case of revival: hymns from the earliest centuries of Christianity were revived to meet contemporary needs. In fact, revival characterises much of the Tractarians' work.

Similarly, we see revival at work when the Tractarians consciously harked back to the medieval times, when Gregorian chant had been the staple choral diet. A number of Anglo-Catholic clergy and musicians attempted to introduce plainsong psalm tones into the congregational repertoire.<sup>94</sup> Scholars also busied themselves searching for ancient English chants. Almost immediately they discovered Merbecke's long forgotten *Book of Common Prayer Noted* and re-introduced it into common usage. Bearing in mind that Merbecke's settings were intended for the 1549 Prayer Book, some clergy illegally re-introduced sections that were missing in the 1662 rite.<sup>95</sup> Other plainsong

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<sup>90</sup> In *The Matter and Manner of Praise* McCart takes a different stance however. He argues that the ritualist controversies of the nineteenth century were linked to interpretation of prayer book rubrics. The controversy surrounding the introduction of hymnody into the liturgy also concerned prayer book rubrics. Thus, McCart suggests that the real issue at hand was not hymns or ceremonial, but the right to interpret these directions fairly widely to meet pastoral needs.

<sup>91</sup> Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 327.

<sup>92</sup> Rainbow is careful to point out that congregations which promoted cathedral-imitations, such as Leeds Parish Church, were not Anglo-Catholic but in fact Latitudinarian or Evangelical. Someone like S. S. Wesley, for example, believed that musical offerings should only be offered by a trained choir and not the congregation. See Rainbow, *Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*, 35.

<sup>93</sup> For a detailed account of Neale's work see Stevenson, *Patterns of Protestant Church Music*, chapter nine.

<sup>94</sup> Thomas Helmore was probably the greatest and most astute plainsong advocate in England during the nineteenth century. His tireless work on the *Hymnal Noted* and a number of other resources for parishes created nothing short of a revolution. He was also a brilliant choral trainer. For a detailed account of Helmore's work see chapters four and five in Rainbow, *Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*.

<sup>95</sup> Temperely, "Anglican and Episcopalian Music", Grove Online. The sections which were most often included were: introits, office hymns and the Agnus Dei.

settings also became popular, such as the *Missa de Angelus*. Furthermore, the most obvious medium to carry the newly translated medieval hymns was their original plainsong melodies, and this is how such tunes gained popular approval.

Thomas Helmore was undoubtedly the champion of plainchant revival.<sup>96</sup> He produced three seminal works: *The Psalter Noted* (1849); *A Manual of Plain Song* (1850); and *The Hymnal Noted* (Vol. 1 1851 and Vol. 2 1856). As the title of the Psalter and Hymnal suggest, they were considered additional resources to Merbecke's *Book of Common Prayer Noted* of 1550. Helmore and Neale joined forces and worked on the Hymnal together, producing a compendium of hymns with original Sarum chants. A number of other plainsong manuals appeared throughout the latter half of the century for parishes, but chant never became excessively popular, although it was generally tolerated by congregations.<sup>97</sup>

Not all parishes were affected by the plainchant revival of the more austere Anglo-Catholic parish churches. The popular choice was to imitate the cathedral traditions of men and boy choirs. The parallel development of the Gothic revival in architecture encouraged parishes with burgeoning choirs to emulate their local cathedral.<sup>98</sup> This heralded a return to the medieval role of music as an agent of beauty and solemnity - not unlike the parallel developments in liturgical vestments, church furnishing, etc.<sup>99</sup> It is important to note that this trend was not the preserve of Anglo-Catholic parishes. Evangelicals also began espousing professionalism in music. Their reason was to improve psalmody (the "word of God"). Ironically, "Both parties preferred a cultivated choir to an uncouth congregation..."<sup>100</sup>

The organ also acquired a higher status during the second half of the century. No doubt, this was in part due to the magnificent instruments on display at the 1851 World Exhibition at Crystal Palace. But more importantly, it signalled a change in the role of music within parish churches. In time, great numbers of parishes purchased organs to accompany their worship. As a result, the little bands and choral groups, which had traditionally been associated with the west-end gallery, and which had promoted a *koinoniac* style of congregational worship, gradually disappeared.<sup>101</sup> Note the change in the role of the choir in ordinary parishes. Before the mid nineteenth century, choral services were

<sup>96</sup> Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival*, 280.

<sup>97</sup> For a detailed account of Helmore's work see chapter five in Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*.

<sup>98</sup> Ecclesiological architectural designs, promoted by the Camden Society, were inspired by the Europe's Gothic cathedrals and often had split choir-stalls for *cantoris* and *decani* sections of the choir.

<sup>99</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 277.

<sup>100</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 277.

<sup>101</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 135 - 37.



not the norm, and the congregation participated heartily in metrical psalm singing. By the late nineteenth century a chorally led service, including the choral chanting of psalms and responses, was standard and the congregation's actual singing involvement waned. Temperley sums up the change perceptively:

In the new arrangement of churches the choir was set apart from the people by its physical position, its apparel and formal appearance, and in many cases by its processional entry and exit. All these features tended to associate the choir with the clergy and to separate it from the people. To the congregation the service was increasingly perceived as a performance provided for its benefit, in a separate part of the church set before it like a stage.<sup>102</sup>

In essence the medieval choir's role of leading worship on behalf of the people had been reinstated. To accommodate this new role, a corpus of new music needed to be composed. Additionally, more and more trained musicians were required to lead choirs and cultivate new musical foundations. Most importantly, however, the trend of having robed choirs and a choral service was both an Evangelical and Tractarian trait. Thus, although theological teaching may have differed in parishes, their repertoires were often very similar.

With the growing interest in parish choirs, it was soon discovered that the general cathedral repertoire was beyond the capabilities of the average amateur musician. To remedy this, composers began writing vast quantities of short and fairly easy anthems for parish use. The ease of publishing and distribution meant that these works received wide circulation and performance. However, their musical quality left much to be desired.<sup>103</sup> Influences from France, principally Gounod, and Spohr<sup>104</sup> abounded in these works (another case of adoption). Extracts from the major choral works also became popular at this time, for example, the Halleluiah Chorus from Handel's *Messiah*.

The excitement and exuberance of the new parish church music movement was greatly assisted by the formation of the Society for Promoting Church Music which was formed in 1846.<sup>105</sup> They published a monthly journal called *The Parish Choir*. Long notes,

It was dedicated to raising the standards of church music and choirs. Though fairly short-lived [it ran from February 1846 – March 1851], this periodical was immensely influential; furthermore, its monthly music supplements, also provided a comprehensive and inexpensive library of well-written simple music.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 276.

<sup>103</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 136.

<sup>104</sup> Spohr visited London in 1820 where he performed his 8<sup>th</sup> Concerto. This sparked a Spohr "cult". He visited England five times after this particular concert. See "Spohr" in *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Music*.

<sup>105</sup> The founding members were: Robert Druitt (a medical doctor); and three clergy, W. J. E. Bennett, W. Watts and T. M. Fallow. See Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 328.

<sup>106</sup> Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 328.

And so a whole new repertoire of simple anthems was introduced into common usage and the anthem took on a new liturgical role, being included within the service. This was in contrast to the small parish choirs of the eighteenth century which offered anthems before and after the service.

Psalmody had featured prominently in parish churches since the Reformation, but Anglicans viewed hymnody with some suspicion. Many lay and ordained folk believed hymns were the preserve of non-conformist churches. The Anglican Evangelicals had been the first to challenge this belief towards the end of the eighteenth century and eventually the Tractarians joined the “cause”. As noted above, Tractarians soon discovered the benefits of hymnody and began encouraging their congregations to implement the singing of hymns. However, as hymn singing became popular, the hymnbook market became saturated with eclectic selections. The demand for hymn books was so high, that publishers were willing to risk vast sums of money on collections comprising largely new hymns.<sup>107</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century there was a crying need for a comprehensive Anglican hymn book of a high literary and musical standard.<sup>108</sup>

The time was ripe for the birth of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Thus, in 1858 a group of enthusiasts formed a committee and began the work of compiling a hymnal.<sup>109</sup> They envisaged a book which would be a companion to the *Book of Common Prayer*, and as a result they ordered its contents according to the prayer book format. Another of its commendable attributes was the printing of a “tune with every hymn on the same page.”<sup>110</sup> The first edition carried two hundred and seventy-three hymns and “proved so abundantly successful that an enlarged edition (with supplement bringing the total to 386) had to be brought out in 1868, a complete revision (473) in 1875, a supplement to the second edition (score 638) in 1889.”<sup>111</sup> The 1875 edition became a standard benchmark to which all other editors aspired. It also proved to be the making of several hymn/tune combinations which have remained together since.<sup>112</sup> The title was aptly chosen by William Monk, the musical editor, and it represented the selection well. Almost half of the original two hundred and seventy-three hymns were translations from ancient Latin or Greek; some were even twinned with old tunes. Despite the fact that the hymn book was compiled by a group of Tractarians, they had fortunately heeded the advice of John Keble, “If you wish to make a hymn book for the use of the

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<sup>107</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 297.

<sup>108</sup> Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 334.

<sup>109</sup> For a detailed history of the events which led to the formation of this committee, see Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 298.

<sup>110</sup> Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, 70.

<sup>111</sup> Routley, *Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, 217.

<sup>112</sup> Routley names “Abide with me” (Eventide) and “O God, our help in ages past” (St Anne), but there are several others.

Church make it comprehensive.”<sup>113</sup> This, undoubtedly, was the reason for its enormous success. By the end of the century it had sold tens of millions of copies and had travelled all around the world, including to the newly established Province of South Africa. Perhaps another reason for its success was the combination of revival, adoption and invention both textually and musically.

Other hymnals followed in the wake of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, but none were able to encroach on its vast influence. Until the publication of the *English Hymnal* in 1906, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* reigned supreme.

Thus, throughout the nineteenth century, despite little in the way of liturgical invention, parish and cathedral repertoires continued to develop and expand, including both new compositions which employed the contemporary compositional styles to suit modern taste (invention), and the revival of ancient plainsong melodies and hymns to satisfy theological requirements. During the nineteenth century, continental compositional styles were popular and as a result a fair amount of musical adoption occurred. Perhaps the greatest advance in church music was the accomplishment of easy access to all types of printed music. This allowed composers and researchers to disseminate both new and old music with considerable ease and speed.

In some respects, the role of church music remained virtually unchanged during the nineteenth century. Cathedrals continued to employ professional musicians and choristers and they presented works on behalf of the congregation, with congregational participation limited to a couple of hymns at most in services. However, in the realm of parish music, there was a major shift. Churches began moving more and more towards the cathedral style - marginalising the musical involvement of the congregation almost completely. In essence, while parishes still offered the congregation the opportunity to sing hymns, their involvement became less and less enthusiastic - they preferred to listen to the choir perform. Importantly, while this change in the role of parochial music was not liturgically inspired, it was directly linked to theological shifts throughout the century. Perhaps most surprising is the fact that the role of music was the one thing that Evangelicals and Tractarians seemed to agree on.

## Twentieth century

At the beginning of the century the lack of lay participation in the choral offices became problematic. The gap between sacred and secular had grown so big that the church no longer appeared relevant to the real world. In other words, worship which offered the congregation a distant and impersonal glimpse of God through the choral responses of a robed choir was no longer

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<sup>113</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 298.

appropriate.<sup>114</sup> To remedy this, English army chaplains recommended that Holy Communion supersede the offices as the principal weekly worship service. At the same time, the Liturgical Movement began advocating this too – their rationale being that the Communion Service offered more opportunities for congregational participation than the offices. Musically, the ideal form of participation for the ordinary churchgoer was hymn singing. For this reason, together with the success of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, an explosion of hymn writing occurred throughout the English speaking world.

The *English Hymnal* represents a landmark in Christian hymnody similar to that of the first publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.<sup>115</sup> The editors, Percy Dearmer (1867-1936) and Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958), intended to create a book which would contain the best poetry and music available, but as Robin Leaver notes, these were also the ideals of the editors of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and *Songs of Sion*.<sup>116</sup> “Though the book was a very outspoken reaction against the standards of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the fact is that it proposed to do for its generation exactly what the earlier book had set out to do 45 years before.”<sup>117</sup> However, the overriding success of the *English Hymnal* was due to its consummate balance between old and new, British and Continental, art and folk music. Leaver says, “They tempered the ecclesiastical austerity of plainsong and Lutheran and Reformed melodies from the more distant past with the warm accessibility of melodies of folk origin from many different language and cultural traditions.”<sup>118</sup> This is, perhaps, an outworking of the so-called English love of compromise. Furthermore, the overtly Victorian nature of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was avoided at all costs. The end-product was a book epitomising ideals which were broadly high church and suited to Tractarian worship styles. In these churches it was welcomed with great enthusiasm. It was not without its critics however. For example, Evangelicals found the book too liberal theologically.<sup>119</sup>

One of the great innovations of the hymnal was the introduction of “faux-bourdon”<sup>120</sup> hymn-tune settings. Here the tune was set in the tenor, with the sopranos singing an alternate counter-melody. When these tunes were set, congregations were instructed to sing the tune with the tenors, while the choir sang the special harmonisation. In this way, Vaughan Williams was able to insert a number

<sup>114</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 319.

<sup>115</sup> For a detailed account of the genesis of the *English Hymnal* and a survey of its contents see Leaver, “British Hymnody, 1900 - 1950”, 482 – 92.

<sup>116</sup> Leaver, “British Hymnody, 1900 - 1950”, 485.

<sup>117</sup> Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, 97.

<sup>118</sup> Leaver, “British Hymnody, 1900 - 1950”, 486.

<sup>119</sup> Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, 97.

<sup>120</sup> The revival of this word does not carry its original meaning.

of sixteenth and seventeenth century tunes by composers of the likes of Tallis and Gibbons.<sup>121</sup> The soprano part came to be known as a descant. The use of these ancient tunes for contemporary use is a classic example of revival.

In 1928 the same editors released the *Oxford Book of Carols*. This signalled a revolution in sacred music. Although carols had been sung for some time in a number of churches, by and large they were considered “secular” and out of place. The *Oxford Book of Carols* made scores of ancient carols available and accessible for common usage. In essence, the change of role of the carol from secular to sacred was a revelation. The revolution, begun at Truro Cathedral in 1880, with the Nine Lessons and Carols Service, which subsequently surged through England and the colonies. Today this particular service is associated with King’s College in Cambridge. Here is a successful example of adoption - a repertoire, completely foreign to the church, was adopted with little or no adaptation. The result was that some rather interesting medieval poetry and theology crept into services, but more importantly that a vast new repertoire was introduced into parishes and cathedrals. What is more, many modern composers have arranged ancient tunes in varied ways, or composed completely new tunes for medieval words, producing a fascinating anthem-like repertory which is extremely popular among the general public.

Without doubt the collaboration between Dearmer and Vaughan Williams was to change the face of congregational music throughout the English-speaking world. Their contribution to the development of British art, through poetry and music, was immense.<sup>122</sup> Not only did they extend the repertoires of congregations by adding so called “secular” folk tunes and carols, they continued in the Tractarian tradition of reviving old hymns and composing contemporary ones - revival, adoption and invention all working together.

The explosion of hymn writing continued unabated through the twentieth century and into the present. The birth of the Pentecostal movement towards the end of the nineteenth century sparked new styles of hymnody which grew in popularity in succeeding years. The charismatic renewal also provided a platform for younger composers to produce music in a contemporary style for worship. The rise in lay involvement in church music inevitably necessitated simpler musical styles in some parishes. The folk revival of the 1960’s and 70’s heralded new approaches to theology and church music. Modern writers in the classical hymn-writing tradition have challenged congregations by

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<sup>121</sup> Vaughan Williams’ musicological work on Parker’s Psalter (with Tallis’ tunes) inspired his *Fantasia on a theme by Thomas Tallis*.

<sup>122</sup> For a detailed discussion on Dearmer’s specific contribution through hymn commissioning see Routley, *Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, 374.

tackling issues such as equality, poverty, drug abuse, etc.<sup>123</sup> The likes of Patrick Appleford (b. 1925), Sydney Carter (1915 - 2004), Fred Kaan (1929 - 2009), Fred Pratt Green (1903 - 2000) and Brian Wren (b. 1936) have all contributed towards the modern revisions of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. The latest offering in this grand tradition is *Common Praise* which is designed to complement the most recent liturgical revision in Britain, namely *Common Prayer*. Another fairly modern Anglican hymnal is *Complete Anglican Hymns Old and New*. With over nine hundred hymns and several congregational settings of Eucharistic responses, it is certainly comprehensive.<sup>124</sup>

Today, more than ever before, lay folk, who are largely untrained theologically or musically, are thrust into the position of 'music leader' because they can play the guitar or piano. In fact, besides the hymn writing explosion, the emancipation of the laity has had a second and equally important effect on music throughout the world: a greater informality in worship has developed. Nowadays, bands comprising modern electronic instruments are often a part of the average parish music team. Some are better than others, but the members usually have very little formal musical training. A number of these musicians have produced compositions of varying quality. The ease with which music is published in the modern world has meant that these songs have a wide circulation. Some professional musicians have seen this as a threat to good musical taste, others have seen it as a challenge for trained musicians to "get with it". More often than not, professional church musicians have tended to retain the tradition they inherited rather than face the challenge of incorporating these newer styles within their repertoires.

Several interesting situations with regard to the role of music have developed, where bands provide the standard musical accompaniment. At first, informal bands encouraged a *leitourgic* model - usually using accessible folk-song-like music as a basis for their repertoire. But as many of them improved and as their repertoires have become more complex, the distance between them and the congregation has grown to such an extent that the congregation can no longer participate easily. In other words, a *kerygmatic* model has emerged. In other parishes, professional music making has been abandoned altogether, and an amateur group of musicians leads the weekly musical offering, much in the manner of parish bands in the eighteenth century - a far more *koinoniac* model.

The generally high educational level of the ordinary parishioner has also impacted congregational worship. and today, the priest is often not the most highly qualified person in his/her parish. Greater numbers of laity have access to theological education of some kind or another. In the musical realm

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<sup>123</sup> Wootton, "The Future of the Hymn", 130.

<sup>124</sup> For a detailed discussion on modern hymnody see Wootton, "The future of the hymn". The revised edition of Routley's *Panorama of Christian Hymnody* is also fairly detailed.

the efforts of institutions, such as the Associated Board of the Royal School of Music and Trinity College, in educating children, have ensured that more ordinary folk have some musical training or grading too. As a result, congregations are often more discerning in matters of worship and expect to be nourished on a higher level than ever before.

It is clear therefore that, the continued popularity of congregational song in parishes can be directly linked to the emancipation of the laity through newer liturgical rites. Furthermore, contemporary congregational settings of the modern liturgical texts have been propagated through a number of modern hymnals.

Anglican parish choirs across the world have not weathered the liturgical and social changes of the last century well. The ascendancy of the Eucharist has meant that the choral services of Matins and Evensong have all but disappeared in most parishes. Some manage an Evensong once a month or once a quarter, but this is more the exception than the rule. Increased congregational participation is one of the main attractions of the modern Eucharist, and so the choir is not required to offer the sung portions on behalf of the congregation any longer. Without the impetus to provide stimulating music for singers, organists and choir leaders have battled to maintain choirs. Furthermore, the emphasis has been largely on congregational hymnody as opposed to choral canticles and anthems.<sup>125</sup> The charismatic renewal has also added to the woes of many choirs. Unfortunately, most professional musicians were not able to adapt to the changing musical scene presented by the Charismatic Movement. Some clergy were less than helpful in this regard, occasionally dissolving choirs without consultation and leaving numbers of professional church musicians without work.<sup>126</sup>

An added blow to church choirs has been the invention of the television. Choir leaders who did not present engaging rehearsals, have increasingly lost members to the growing variety of television programmes. Likewise, the rise in popularity of sports matches on Sundays has also contributed to the demise of parish choral traditions. By and large, parishes have been forced to form ad hoc choirs for special occasions.<sup>127</sup> Throughout the rest of the liturgical year, the choral contribution from week to week can be fairly limited. In all, liturgical and social change has tended to undermine choral worship, rather than affirm it. That being said, many traditionally-minded musicians nailed their own coffins by being stubbornly unwilling to experiment with newer styles. But, as it has been noted above, trained choirs in parish churches led by professional musicians have not always been the norm throughout Anglican history. In fact, it appears that most parishes throughout Anglicanism's

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<sup>125</sup> *In Tune With Heaven*, 111.

<sup>126</sup> *In Tune With Heaven*, 79.

<sup>127</sup> *In Tune With Heaven*, 112.

first three centuries relied on lay musicians to lead singing, often with little training. Therefore a return to lay-led congregational worship need not be seen as something foreign in Anglican church music history.

Recoding techniques have improved consistently throughout the last century. Church music has been enriched and impoverished by these developments. The availability of high quality recordings to the general public has had a positive effect on performance standards. These recordings have inspired young and old alike to imitate the near-perfect renditions of sacred works. For choirs it has been a mixed blessing. Church choirs have received much criticism from ordinary parishioners for not attaining the standards they hear on recordings. Furthermore, many choirmasters have put amateurs under immense pressure to perform at an incredibly high standard. As a result, live performance, in parish churches at least, is sometimes abandoned altogether for fear of an imperfect rendition.

Partly in response to the rapidly changing theological and liturgical scene early in the twentieth century, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York established a committee to evaluate the state of sacred music in their two provinces. The committee released a report in 1922 called *Music in Worship*. Much of the report had been compiled by Sydney Nicholson, who by that stage was organist at Westminster Abbey. As a direct result of this report, Nicholson decided to establish two organisations: The English School of Church Music (later to become the Royal School of Church Music, or RSCM) and the College of St Nicholas (later to amalgamate with the RSCM). The School of English Music catered mainly for parish and school choirs. They offered advice on a number of pertinent issues, published a periodical *English Church Music*, and organised mass events in concert halls and cathedrals around the country. This organisation proved to be a great success and attracted the attention of vast numbers of choirs. The College of St Nicholas was formed as a residential training school for church musicians. In 1954 the two institutes merged and moved to Addington Palace, Croydon.<sup>128</sup>

The RSCM has been particularly influential in the field of parish choir training. The school had initially been established to reform parish music to address the new emphasis on congregational participation. However, their curriculum tended to focus mainly on the choral, rather than the congregational, aspects of worship. In other words, they were promoting a more *kerygmatic* style of worship, reminiscent of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>128</sup> For a fuller account of the history of the RSCM see chapter thirteen of Beeson *In Tuneful Accord*.



The RSCM continues its work today, somewhat embattled by the continuing trend of congregations to disregard choirs and choral music. Under John Harper the organisation has been focusing on new plans to encourage choral singing, especially among children. As a result, a comprehensive educational programme called *Voice for Life* has been introduced. The scope of music, which has been endorsed by the RSCM, is now much broader than it used to be. Until fairly recently, the school was characterised as a conservative advocate of cathedral-style worship. Today, it is not uncommon to hear some of the latest 'pop' tunes, arranged for choir, appearing in their services alongside sixteenth century polyphony.<sup>129</sup>

Cathedral music in the twentieth century could not be more different from parish worship. Standards of choral music and composition have been unrivalled in English cathedrals during the twentieth century. The reforms of S. S. Wesley and others during the nineteenth century gradually bore incredible fruit. The improved conditions of choir boys meant that they were receiving a fine musical and academic education. Many of these choristers have gone on to become professional musicians and composers. Organisations such as the Royal College of Organists, established in the nineteenth century, have set consistently high standards to which young organists aspire. As a result, the calibre of cathedral organists today is superb. Yet more exciting is that a number of the finest composers of the century have set music for cathedral worship.<sup>130</sup> They include the likes of Benjamin Britten (1913-1976), Herbert Howells (1892-1983), John Ireland (1879-1962), William Walton (1902-1983), Gustav Holst (1874-1934), Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958), to name a few. Many cathedrals continue to be at the forefront of art music, providing a platform for high quality premier performances. A number of cathedral choirs have embarked on large scale recording ventures, capturing the great works of musical history and making them available to audiences around the world.

One of the major changes to the contemporary Cathedral scene is the introduction of girls' choirs (traditionally only boys and men have sung in cathedrals). This trend is a positive result of the equality movement. An added benefit of these choirs is that more women are becoming high calibre organists.<sup>131</sup>

In the sphere of liturgical change, two interesting trends have appeared in cathedrals and parishes which support 'traditional' choirs of men and boys. The first is that Evensong, sung from the BCP 1662, has persisted throughout the last century without much difficulty. Liturgically this is a case of

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<sup>129</sup> For the most up-to-date news of the RSCM's work see [www.rscm.com](http://www.rscm.com).

<sup>130</sup> *In Tune With Heaven*, 88.

<sup>131</sup> For a fascinating history of choristers in English worship see Mould, *The English Chorister*.

retention, but not musically however: contemporary composers have continued to provide varied settings of services, responses, anthems and psalm chants. Thus, despite the fact that ancient liturgies are used, contemporary music is fairly common in these services. The 'sister' service of Evensong, choral Matins, has not fared well. Very few, if any, cathedrals present this service in the twenty-first century. Changing social, educational and working conditions have made it impossible for lay clerks to attend 10am weekday services. In contrast, on Sundays the Eucharistic service has come to the fore, opening new possibilities for cathedral repertoire. It is not unusual to find cathedrals using the latest revision of the BCP, *Common Prayer*, for Eucharistic services. Since the ancient shape of the liturgy has been restored, Tudor, Classical and Romantic Mass settings can be used for liturgical worship. But beyond that, cathedral choirs often move out of their quire stalls to the chancel steps to participate in Eucharistic services, becoming part of the congregation rather than being set apart from the people. This is perhaps one of the most visual choral responses to the theological and liturgical shifts of the last few decades. The reintroduction of the Easter triduum and other related services have also provided extra opportunities for cathedrals to experiment with ceremonial and music. Creative new compositions have appeared in the past few decades to compliment these ancient and meaningful services, but older repertoires have also been revived.<sup>132</sup> All in all, cathedrals have responded well to the liturgical developments of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Thus, the role of music in church has changed considerably during the twentieth century. Extraordinary changes in theological thinking, far-reaching liturgical shifts and sociological developments have necessitated significant changes in musical repertoires in both parishes and cathedrals. Today congregational participation is highly prized, and the role of the choir is consequently far more limited, especially in parish churches. The growing trend towards a weekly Eucharist has also required new congregational repertoires, and throughout the twentieth century newly composed settings have appeared to fill this gap. While cathedrals have continued to maintain a *kerygmatic* musical role, they have also made an effort, both symbolically and practically, to include the congregation more fully in the worship experience. Parishes have been returning to a more balanced *koinoniac* musical setting where choral music and congregational music are equally prized.

The changing role of music in parishes has meant that a vast corpus of music, designed specifically for parochial choral worship has virtually disappeared. Since choral Matins and Evensong are no longer in vogue, little in the way of parish-styled music in this genre is composed nowadays.

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<sup>132</sup> Mould, *The English Chorister*, 223 - 26.

However, in the realm of hymnody, a whole new repertoire has emerged. Like most trends in the twentieth century, whole repertoires were created and slavishly followed until newer styles were introduced. Today it is not uncommon for these repertoires to develop and wane in the space of five or ten years. In other words, the rate of change is incredibly fast. Some parishes have been able to find a balance of the best of the old and of the new.

### **Liturgy and music in the twenty-first century**

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Church of England released *Common Prayer* which itself was the culmination of several decades of experimental liturgies. For the first time since the 1549 prayer book, the church made a concerted effort to provide not only a companion hymn book but also musical editions of the prayer book itself.<sup>133</sup> In addition, organisations such as the RSCM have been publishing supporting material such as *Season by Season* to enrich the new rites. However, it is still too early to assess the full musical response to these most recent liturgical changes in Britain.

### **Summary**

Altogether, the musical history of the English Church has been rich and varied. Before the Reformation church music traditions were largely *kerygmatic*, with little, if any, congregational participation. The role of music was to beautify worship and to convey liturgical rites. During the Reformation the music in the Anglican Church split into two traditions: cathedral and parish. Cathedrals tended to offer a *kerygmatic* style of worship, retaining aspects they had inherited from the Reformation. In parish worship, in contrast, the role of music became more *leitourgic*. In this context metrical psalmody became increasingly popular. Both cathedral and parish repertoires were adapted to suit contemporary needs, and new music was composed to carry new ritual texts.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, cathedrals continued to offer mainly *kerygmatic* worship, except for during the fifteen years of the Commonwealth, when they were forced to adopt a *leitourgic* style. During the Restoration, French court styles were adopted in the Chapel Royal, and cathedrals began reviving repertoires which were forged during the Reformation. In parishes metrical psalmody continued to flourish and the *leitourgic* role of music persisted until the mid-eighteenth century, when the introduction of small choirs and bands meant that services tended to reflect a more *koinoniac* character.

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<sup>133</sup> Harper, "Renewing the Past in the Present", 163.

Cathedral and parish music in the nineteenth century can be characterised as mainly *kerygmatic*. This was largely because of the rise of parish choirs, and the gradual increase of lay musical ability. A vast repertoire of parish music was written to accommodate this shift in parish choral life. Much of it imitated the music of Continental composers and thus represents adoption. Additionally, in Anglo-Catholic parishes, ancient plainsong chants and hymns were revived for congregational use.

During the twentieth century cathedrals maintained a *kerygmatic* character and improved their standards of performance dramatically. This high level of performance has subsequently led to outstanding new contributions to the cathedral repertoire by many of Britain's leading composers. The major changes in liturgy have been positively absorbed by cathedrals to date, especially in the Eucharist, but not for the office of Evensong, which tends to be sung from the BCP 1662. Parish music, on the other hand, has been moving gradually back to a more *koinoniac* or *leitourgic* style in this, the twenty-first century. A large repertoire of hymnody and scriptural songs has been introduced and congregational participation is now almost a prerequisite.







## Part 2

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## Chapter Four

### Anglican Music in the Diocese of Cape Town

The story of music in the life of the African church reveals the central role that different cultural music can, and often does, play in effectively bringing the good news of Jesus Christ into new contexts.<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

Chapters four and five present the historical background of music and liturgy within the Diocese of Cape Town. Both chapters serve to fill the gaps in existing academic literature. As yet, there is no comprehensive historical survey of music in the Province, and while there are several books about South Africa's liturgical past, none address how music affected, or was affected by, the liturgy. Most of the material for these chapters was assembled from archival research and interviews with church musicians and clergy. In particular, chapter four traces changes in the role of music over the past two hundred and fifty years, and how theology has influenced musical repertoire.

#### Before Bishop Robert Gray (1749 - 1848)

Since the Cape was on the sea route between Europe and the East, it is not surprising that the first Anglican service according to the Book of Common Prayer was held there for British sailors and soldiers on shore leave; in 1749 the British fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, en route from India, put into Table Bay, and the Dutch governor agreed to allow the British chaplain from the fleet to hold a service in the Dutch church.<sup>2</sup>

Church historians do not know which service was used and whether music was a part of it or not. It was probably either Matins or Evensong, depending on the time of day. Since metrical psalmody was the unrivalled musical genre in parishes during the mid-eighteenth century, it is fair to assume that well-known psalms (probably from the Tate and Brady<sup>3</sup> version) may have been sung. Metrical psalmody was the fashionable form of congregational song which enjoyed legal status in Britain, but hymnody was also beginning to emerge in the Anglican context.<sup>4</sup> The denominational configuration of the military congregation was not mentioned. Were all naval personnel Anglican? Surely not. Although they may have had to be "Anglican" to work in the civil service,<sup>5</sup> a number of them may

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<sup>1</sup> King, *Music in the Life of the African Church*, xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Suberg, *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa*, 10.

<sup>3</sup> The so-called *Old Version* (Sternhold and Hopkins) was superseded in 1696 by Tate and Brady. Although some congregations may still have been using the old version by the mid-eighteenth century, large numbers of church goers would have been most familiar with the *New Version*. See Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, 15.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion on the development of hymnody in the Anglican Church see McCart, *The Matter and Manner of Praise*.

<sup>5</sup> The only official requirement to be an Anglican was to take Communion three times a year. Many civil servants, particularly at parliamentary level, placated officialdom by acquiescing to this demand, even if they were not Anglicans. In 1828 non-conformists were allowed to serve in the civil service. See Quinn, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 179 - 80.

have been non-conformists, or Methodists. Being so far from home, members of the congregation may have been bold enough to sing a hymn by Watts or Wesley.

For the next hundred years until the arrival of Bishop Gray in February 1848, Anglican clergy were colonial chaplains appointed to serve the local naval and military contingents, and after 1814 the burgeoning colonial community in the Cape. Anglican mission work was not considered necessary at this point, the chaplains' charge being to minister to the English expatriates working at the Cape. As a result, the congregations were almost entirely English. However, in the years after the English had taken formal possession of the Cape and the Anglican Church had gained official status in 1814, it became fashionable for Dutch and German locals to attend an English service as well as their own.<sup>6</sup> It is unlikely that the musical traditions of the Dutch and the English cross-fertilized at this point, especially since the English Church would have been trying, whether consciously or not, to assert its cultural dominance as the new "established" church.

Most of the Anglican Churches in those early years must have been rather simple. The first "English Church" building, St George's, was only completed in 1834.<sup>7</sup> St Paul's in Rondebosch was built soon after in the same year. Until then, Anglicans had shared buildings with Dutch Reformed churches.<sup>8</sup> The Anglican congregations appear to have been largely independent from each other<sup>9</sup> and their buildings were often erected by subscription.<sup>10</sup> It is difficult to determine the churchmanship of these "parishes", and what music, if any, they sang. In the late 1820's the St George's congregation was using Tate and Brady's metrical psalter. This was seen by some as an impediment, rather than a blessing.<sup>11</sup> It is quite probable that the other Anglican congregations probably sang what they knew and loved from their home parishes in England. Undoubtedly, for most ordinary folk this would have

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<sup>6</sup> Worden et al., *Cape Town*, 123.

<sup>7</sup> St George's in Cape Town was not the first Anglican Church to be built in South Africa. Other churches in the Eastern Cape were built earlier in the 1830's. However, the foundation stone of St George's Cape Town was laid on 23 April 1830. The first St George's Church was a large building seating approximately one thousand people. It was built in the classical style, similar to St Martin's in the Fields, London. See Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 1.

<sup>9</sup> All chaplains were licenced to the Bishop of London and legally fell under his jurisdiction, although he never visited the colony. However, since there was no diocesan bishop, the chaplains assumed unquestioned leadership of each separate congregation. The Bishop of Calcutta occasionally visited the colony en route to India, performing episcopal duties as required.

<sup>10</sup> Davenport, "Settlement, Conquest, and Theological Controversy", 52.

<sup>11</sup> Those attempting to start a choir in the congregation found the metrical psalms "...an obstacle...[to] improving the vocal music", and another commentator suggested that a new collection of hymns and psalms be compiled by the colonial chaplain (Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 49).

been metrical Psalmody.<sup>12</sup> Contemporary sources only make mention of the type of music sung at Anglican gatherings, but there is no information regarding the methods of performance. Thus, there is no evidence of “lining out”, for example, which was still a common practice in British churches.<sup>13</sup>

For the Anglicans worshipping at the Groote Kerk until St George’s was built, singing must have been accompanied, since the Groote Kerk Kerkraad allowed Anglicans the use of the organ in 1813.<sup>14</sup> At that point in Cape history, church organists were civil servants and were appointed by the government. Not surprisingly, the perennial issue of low wages appears to have been a problem from time to time.<sup>15</sup> The results of a census in 1820 suggest that while there were a number of Dutch musicians, there were no professional English musicians in the Cape.<sup>16</sup> It appears that the role of organist for the St George’s congregation during that time was covered by one person, playing for the Lutherans and Anglicans.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps he was Dutch? By the time St George’s was opened in 1834, an organ had been commissioned and built for the church by a local builder.<sup>18</sup> Whether the other four Anglican congregations in the town sang to accompaniment cannot be determined.

In eighteenth century England voluntary parish choirs were immensely popular and attracted significant numbers of singers. Additionally, singing an anthem before or after the service was fairly common. It appears that these trends followed the English emigrants to South Africa, where choirs were established in many congregations, both Anglican and dissenting. By 1830 a formal Anglican choir was created for the inauguration of the new organ at the Groote Kerk.<sup>19</sup> Evidently it comprised boys and men.<sup>20</sup> Smith calls this choir “the first Anglican choir in Cape Town”.<sup>21</sup> They sang the

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<sup>12</sup> It must be reiterated here that hymnody in the Anglican Church only became popular towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Although metrical psalmody and hymnody are often lumped together in modern parlance, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century a clear distinction was made between the two genres. Furthermore, since many immigrants tended to be fairly conservative theologically, it is fair to assume that their musical taste would have reflected conservative trends at the time, i.e. metrical psalmody (Smith, “Christian Music in the Western Tradition”, 317).

<sup>13</sup> See Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 41 - 55.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 41.

<sup>15</sup> In 1830 James Gregory resigned as organist of the “English Church” in Cape Town because of the low wages and bad working conditions. See Gregory, letter to local government, 1830 (Cape Archives CO, vol. 3947, ref. 123). In a letter dated 25 September 1839, T. Hitchcock declined the position of organist at St George’s because of the low wage offer. See Hitchcock, letter to local government, 25 September 1839 (Cape Archives CO, vol. 4001, ref. 72).

<sup>16</sup> Worden et al., *Cape Town*, 94. There were, however, six Dutch men who considered themselves musicians.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 42.

<sup>18</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 6 - 14.

<sup>19</sup> The Dutch Reformed Church, being Calvinist, did not cultivate a formal choral tradition, mainly because its music was entirely congregational in nature. Mr Corder had started a choir towards the end of the 1820’s, but under trying conditions.

<sup>20</sup> A report of the inauguration service in the South African Commercial Advertiser comments that, “...it was only to be regretted that there was not a little more power in the Treble and Bass, the former in particular

premier of an anthem (Psalm 98) by the organist, Mr Corder, for the occasion. The auspicious start to Anglican choral singing did not last. Parish minutes and correspondence discuss the varying standards of the singers and incumbent organists.<sup>22</sup> Besides the general complaints by the church council, little is known about the repertoire or membership of the choir, except that “The musical services were not... cathedral type.”<sup>23</sup>

Parish bands were also particularly popular in England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>24</sup> There is, however, no evidence that parish bands existed in the Cape. When St George’s was opened in 1834, the unsurplised choir was placed in the east gallery behind a curtain, so as not to be seen by the congregation.<sup>25</sup> This was a peculiar arrangement, since in English churches the choir gallery was usually at the west-end where the organ was situated.

By 1841 the Anglican community in Cape Town, known then as the English Episcopalians, had grown to about four thousand two hundred.<sup>26</sup> The need for a bishop was becoming paramount. Not long after this the Colonial Bishopricks Fund decided to finance the creation of the see of Cape Town, a vast diocese covering Southern Africa. Robert Gray was consecrated as the metropolitan bishop in 1847 and arrived in Cape Town in February 1848. Gray had learnt a great deal from friends and mentors in the Tractarian Movement and his arrival in the Cape signalled a new era of churchmanship, and consequently music.

### **Fledgling diocese**

Not long after Bishop Gray arrived in Cape Town, a number of technological advancements ensured that communication and transport were greatly improved. The laying of rail infrastructure around the town linked the outlying areas of Rondebosch, Claremont, Wynberg and Simon’s Town. In the late 1850’s and early 1860’s the harbour began to thrive. The local authorities decided to establish a proper port with the necessary break-water. Once the harbour had been completed, shipping to the Cape grew tremendously. Not only were ships bringing trading goods, but also new immigrants from England. This resulted naturally in the rapid expansion of suburban areas which needed parish

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would be greatly enriched by the introduction of a few female voices...”, *South African commercial Advertiser*, 17 July, 1830. See Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 47.

<sup>21</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 47.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 44 – 45.

<sup>23</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 50.

<sup>24</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 112 - 13.

<sup>25</sup> Church Chronicle, 26 April 1905, 249.

<sup>26</sup> Worden et al., *Cape Town*, 123.

churches to cater for the growing English population.<sup>27</sup> The consequence was a host of congregations meeting in small buildings. Sophy Gray, the bishop's wife, was an able architect and designed a number of churches in the city and provincial towns.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, increased trade meant prosperity, especially among the middle classes. Music always benefits in times of prosperity, and the demand for pianos and music grew exponentially. Choral societies were established and amateur music making began to flourish.<sup>29</sup>

In church matters, the bishop was to have a rough time. The existing parishes in the town were reluctant to submit to his authority, and numerous legal battles ensued. Nevertheless, he was untiring in establishing the new diocese, and he travelled far and wide throughout Southern Africa planting new congregations and nurturing the existing ones.<sup>30</sup> His Tractarian tendencies were to have an marked influence on the flavour of Anglicanism in South Africa. The bishop was able to select his own staff, and consequently invited clergy whose leanings were towards Tractarianism. Most of them were from Britain.<sup>31</sup> These priests had trained in parishes where robed choirs were leading worship using plainsong and fully composed settings of the canticles.<sup>32</sup> What is more, hymnody was emerging in Anglican churches, encouraged both by the Evangelicals and the Anglo-Catholics.<sup>33</sup> These British priests brought all of these ideas with them to establish in their new parishes.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the west-end gallery choir began to fall out of favour in England.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, the tireless work of the Cambridge Camden Society had ensured the ascendancy of the neo-Gothic style. As this style was directly linked with Tractarian sympathies, it is little wonder that Bishop Gray envisioned such structures in his new diocese. Sophy Gray's designs catered for a fully developed chancel with the choir placed on either side.<sup>35</sup> The additions to St Paul's, Rondebosch in 1849 gave an indication of what was to follow throughout the diocese. Even the Calvinist-styled St George's, now a cathedral, was adapted to accommodate this change in

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<sup>27</sup> Worden et al., *Cape Town*, 149 - 70.

<sup>28</sup> Martin, *The Bishop's Churches*, 9 - 13.

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed history of music in the Cape amongst the white settler community, see Bouws, *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad*.

<sup>30</sup> Suberg, *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa*, 20 - 26.

<sup>31</sup> See Southey, "Robert Gray and His Legacy to the Church of the Province of Southern Africa".

<sup>32</sup> See chapter fourteen in Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*.

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed discussion on the development of hymnody in the Anglican Church see McCart, *The Matter and Manner of Praise*.

<sup>34</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 137.

<sup>35</sup> Martin, *The Bishop's Churches*, 12.

style.<sup>36</sup> Not only did this make a bold statement regarding churchmanship, but it also affected attitudes about choirs. Now it was a status symbol to sit in front of the congregation, fully robed and leading worship on behalf of the people.

### Education and music

On 25 February 1848 Gray wrote, “Up to this time we have not been able to establish full Cathedral Services; but we have daily prayer, morning and evening, and weekly Communion. The Canticles and Glorias [Gloria Patri?], etc., are chanted, and we have regular anthems. We shall in time have full Cathedral Services.”<sup>37</sup> The bishop was an educationalist as well as a clergyman, and soon after his arrival he established a cathedral school to provide trained choristers for the cathedral choir. St George’s Grammar School was the result.<sup>38</sup> This would have greatly enhanced the conditions for the organist at the cathedral, since his choir was now on hand to rehearse every day of the week. By 1850, Thomas Corder had created a programme for musical training in the cathedral school to ensure that choristers were “... competent to sing... all the chants, psalms and choruses of the anthems...”<sup>39</sup> The last phrase of this quote is of great interest. The “choruses of the anthems” may suggest that Corder was using verse anthems from the eighteenth century in the cathedral repertory.<sup>40</sup> Or it may indicate that they were singing extracts from oratorios, e.g. solo followed by chorus in one of Handel’s works.

Diocesan College (also known as ‘Bishops’) was established a few years later, first at the bishop’s residence and later in Rondebosch. Like the cathedral school, this was exclusively for white boys. At the same time Gray also created a school for black and coloured children called Zonnebloem College, nearer to the city centre. Within a decade, a school for white girls was also opened. Unfortunately, much of the bishop’s good work in the diocese was sullied by his obstinate beliefs concerning segregation. Besides his Anglo-Catholic legacy, the church has yet to fully recover from the divided worship and education upon which he insisted.

Despite founding the cathedral choir school, it was said that the bishop did not care much for music. While he was hosting Diocesan College at his home “Neither psalms nor hymns were sung, and

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<sup>36</sup> The bishop wrote in his diary that he disliked just about everything in the existing cathedral and wished to plan a new building (Martin, *The Bishop’s Churches*, 8).

<sup>37</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 54.

<sup>38</sup> The school was opened on 11 April 1848 and claims that it is the oldest church school in the country. See *The History of St George’s Grammar School* [<http://www.sggs.co.za/prospectus.html>] accessed 17 January 2011.

<sup>39</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 52.

<sup>40</sup> This was a popular practice in England for smaller choirs.

outside Chapel secular music was not encouraged.”<sup>41</sup> A little while later, when George Ogilvie (a trained musician) arrived as the new principal, music was incorporated as an important part of the college education. Soon he had acquired a harmonium for the school chapel and in time he helped to organise the first performance of Handel’s *Messiah* in Cape Town.<sup>42</sup>

Education was a driving force in the Victorian Empire, particularly in the realm of music. Curwen’s development of the tonic sol-fa system in the mid nineteenth century was to have an incredible impact on the English working classes, but more especially in the schools and mission fields of Southern Africa.<sup>43</sup> At first the system was introduced to “reproduce [England’s] own musical culture in South Africa”<sup>44</sup> but soon it was discovered that it held many possibilities in the realm of mission work. Christopher Birkett was already teaching tonic sol-fa at an Episcopal Church in Cape Town in the 1860’s. Another pioneer in the discipline was John Ashley who was working with church choirs in the Rondebosch and Claremont area in the 1860’s.<sup>45</sup> His influence even reached Zonnebloem College. Tonic sol-fa was well received all over the city and a host of choral works became available for amateurs to sing and perform. The publishing boom in England, and the compositional explosion which accompanied it, meant that a vast array of fairly simple anthems and canticles became available for parish use. The rise in commercial trade in the Cape harbour ensured that music could be imported far more easily than before. These developments must have benefitted church choirs as they nurtured their fairly new choral traditions. It is beyond the scope of this study to analyse the effects of tonic sol-fa on the mission field during the mid-nineteenth century. However, the impact of the system can still be felt in modern black congregations in the city, which will be discussed towards the end of the chapter. A number of scholars have severely criticised the tonic sol-fa system because of its association with the English inculturation of the black communities of Southern Africa, and also because of its limitations in notating African rhythms.<sup>46</sup> However, Stevens prefers to highlight the positive effects it has had on contemporary black choral idioms.<sup>47</sup>

## Choirs

<sup>41</sup> McIntyre, *The Diocesan College*, 82.

<sup>42</sup> McIntyre, *The Diocesan College*, 81. A more detailed history of Diocesan College’s early music programme is available from this source.

<sup>43</sup> For a comprehensive analysis and history of tonic sol-fa in South Africa see Stevens, “Tonic Sol-fa”.

<sup>44</sup> Stevens, “Tonic Sol-fa”, 39.

<sup>45</sup> St Saviour’s Claremont (1850), Newlands Chapel (1856) and St Thomas’ (1864) had already been established by the time Ashley was working in Rondebosch and Claremont. So it is safe to assume that these churches may have benefitted from his courses.

<sup>46</sup> See Olwage, “Discipline and Choralism” and Dargie, “Christian Music Among Africans”, 319 - 26.

<sup>47</sup> Stevens, “Tonic Sol-fa”, 37 - 39.



Choirs must have varied in size from parish to parish. Until the early twentieth century, all evidence shows that the choirs comprised exclusively men and boys. In 1856 the cathedral choir had six men and twelve boys.<sup>48</sup> By the 1880's, a photograph shows that there were more than double the number of men.<sup>49</sup> St Michael's, Observatory, already had an established choral tradition before their first building was completed in 1899. They ordered choir stalls to accommodate twenty-four boy choristers and sixteen men<sup>50</sup> which is indicative of a rather large choir. Whether the existing choir filled these stalls is not known.

The bigger parishes must have commanded some respect musically. At the turn of the century, Arthur Pamphlett moved from Bloemfontein Cathedral, where the choir had accomplished a number of choral feats including Stainer's "Crucifixion", to become organist at St Saviour's, Claremont.<sup>51</sup> Either there was better remuneration for organists in Cape Town, or the choral tradition was good enough to entice him to the city. By that time the St George's Cathedral was probably one of the few churches attempting anything like a fully choral office on Sundays. St Paul's in Rondebosch, one of the oldest parishes, besides St George's, established a choir in 1869.<sup>52</sup> They acquired a Willis organ in 1884<sup>53</sup> which would have attracted a competent organist, probably a certain Mr King who had been having lessons with Charles Thomas, the cathedral organist.<sup>54</sup> St Saviour's and St Paul's may have attempted something like a "cathedral imitation". Certainly until 1900, other parishes with choirs were probably quite content with choral chanting and hymn singing. The choir's role in these churches would have been to lead congregational singing which is not inconsistent with Anglo-Catholic ideals of congregational participation.

In the Eastern Cape the missionaries succeeded in introducing choral singing amongst the Xhosa people. Xhosa traditional religious and social music encompassed the whole community, and specialised choirs for specific purposes were not part of their culture. However, they enjoyed singing and adopted the four-part choral style of the missionaries. Although Xhosa choirs accepted

<sup>48</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 53. A number of members had been "encouraged to resign" after reforms were introduced by the cathedral.

<sup>49</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, plate 10. There are thirteen choir men in this photograph, pictured with three clergy and the organist, Thomas.

<sup>50</sup> *History of St Michael's and All Angels Observatory* [<http://www.stmichael.org.za/index.php/history-and-liturgy>] accessed 15 June 2010.

<sup>51</sup> Human, *Die Musieklewe in Bloemfontein*, 105 - 06.

<sup>52</sup> *St Paul's Church Rondebosch* [<http://www.stpaulsrondebosch.co.za/buildings.htm>] accessed 2 July 2010.

<sup>53</sup> *St Paul's Church Rondebosch* [<http://www.stpaulsrondebosch.co.za/buildings.htm>] accessed 2 July 2010. and Troskie, *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*, 15.

<sup>54</sup> Smith mentions that "Mr King and Mr Stapleton later both became well known organists at Rondebosch and Kalk Bay respectively" (Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 62).

functional harmony, no amount of inculcation could supersede the natural ethnic tendency towards harmonic parallelism.<sup>55</sup> Black congregations around the country still prefer to harmonise hymns in this way in their own churches. Choral competitions became popular at this time and ensured the ascendancy of organised music making amongst the new converts. Over decades functional harmony has become an integral part of the Xhosa choral style. As Xhosa Anglicans from the Eastern Cape migrated to Cape Town to find work in the early twentieth century, they brought these adopted influences with them.

Although Anglican mission work was mainly centred in the Eastern Cape amongst the Xhosa, certain clergy, especially the likes of Canon Lightfoot, were involved in mission work in the city. This work tended to focus on poorer communities.<sup>56</sup> Hymnody was often included as part of these mission endeavours, but there is no immediate evidence of formal choral groups.

### Organs and harmoniums

Organs with pedal boards were beginning to supersede parish bands by the middle of the nineteenth century in English parishes. Parish organists were usually amateurs, except in the wealthier areas, and their choirs were voluntary. In neo-Gothic revival churches, the organ and the choir were moved from the west-end to the front of the church.<sup>57</sup> The oldest churches in the Diocese of Cape Town reflect this trend. The wealthier parishes were able to afford organs, but others settled for harmoniums. The economic growth of Cape Town towards the end of the nineteenth century enabled a few parishes to purchase an organ of some description.<sup>58</sup> Many of them have survived and are still in regular use today. Harmoniums were also popular, and much cheaper. Additionally, reed organs do not require the expertise that is necessary for playing a pedal organ. St Andrew's in Newlands,<sup>59</sup> Christ Church in Constantia<sup>60</sup> and St Michael and All Angels Observatory<sup>61</sup> definitely owned harmoniums at the turn of the century.

<sup>55</sup> Dargie, "Christian Music Among Africans", 319 - 22.

<sup>56</sup> Worden, et al., *Cape Town*, 180.

<sup>57</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 134 -35.

<sup>58</sup> Troskie's book *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa* shows that a number of Anglican Churches in Cape Town bought organs between the late 1880's and 1910. The majority of instruments were imported from Europe and assembled in South Africa by carpenters, shopkeepers and watchmakers. This was possible because the instruments were accompanied by detailed assembly manuals. Many of these organs were extremely well built to endure the rough journey from Europe to the Cape, and as a result many of them are still in excellent playing condition today. See Troskie, *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*, x - xi.

<sup>59</sup> Langham-Carter, *St Andrew's Newlands*, 43.

<sup>60</sup> Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, 30. The church has owned three harmoniums in its history. The last one was replaced by a pipe organ in 1985.

### Repertoire before the turn of the century

The information above confirms that parishes were following the English example as best they could. In England the “Cathedral imitation” was then the vogue, with a choir of men and boys singing fully composed canticles and anthems every Sunday. It cannot be adequately discerned whether choirs in Cape Town were so adventurous. However, the English repertoire during the late 1860’s in the Diocese of Grahamstown could be used as a benchmark for the decade for the Province. The practice in Grahamstown was to chant the psalms and canticles, but not to intone the versicles and responses at the offices. At the communion, the responses to the commandments and a psalm were chanted (highly unusual, since no provision was made for psalmody at the Eucharist in the BCP 1662).<sup>62</sup> No mention is made of anthems or the type of chanting that was predominant, namely Anglican or Gregorian, and there is no indication that the Ordinary responses during the communion were sung. In England, Merbecke’s communion setting was popular, and there is every reason to suspect that it soon took hold in local city congregations too. Certainly, by the mid-twentieth century, Merbecke was widespread in parishes across the country.<sup>63</sup> Special occasions were undoubtedly the place for choir anthems. By the 1890’s, sung versicles and responses must have been fairly wide-spread, because Charles Thomas (1840 - 1923), the Cape Town cathedral organist from 1863 - 1888, complained about the laziness of choral responses in his advice to choir masters in the Colony.<sup>64</sup> He also speaks about the chanting of psalms *and* canticles, which would indicate that the majority of choirs did not sing fully composed settings of the canticles routinely. Furthermore, the way he speaks about chanting indicates that it is Anglican, not Gregorian chant.

Just as clergy were imported from Britain to serve in the new Province, so musicians of the English tradition were invited to positions in Cape Town. The cathedral was a prestigious post, and a number of expatriates have been incumbent there in its long history.<sup>65</sup> Likewise, the bigger parishes in the city, wishing to emulate English parish churches, invited foreign organists to lead their musical programmes. Undoubtedly they would have brought with them the contemporary trends of parishes and cathedrals in Britain. The list of anthems and oratorios produced at the cathedral during Thomas’ tenure shows that he was well aware of what was popular in England at the time. Spohr’s *As Pants the Hart* and large works such as *The Last Judgement* (Spohr), *Hymn of Praise*

<sup>61</sup> *History of St Michael’s and All Angels Observatory* [<http://www.stmichael.org.za/index.php/history-and-liturgy>] accessed 15 June 2010.

<sup>62</sup> Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, 137 - 38.

<sup>63</sup> All interviewees mentioned this.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 62.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas’ assistant organist, Ms Strohl, was also an expatriate who had studied with the organist of Durham Cathedral. See Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George’s Cathedral*, 59.

(Mendelssohn), *Crucifixion* (Stainer) and *The Woman of Samaria* (Sterndale Bennett) were in the choir's repertoire. Events like the "Church Choir Choral Festival", initiated in 1882 and hosted at the cathedral, drew choirs from all over the city and would have exposed them to this type of repertoire.

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## Hymns Ancient and Modern

*Hymns Ancient and Modern* (AM) was first published in 1861. South African expatriate clergy wasted no time in making use of this new resource. By the 1870's, the diocese, and Province, had no legislation regarding official hymnbooks. This was unlike the fledgling Anglican Province in the United States, where hymnody was strictly monitored.<sup>67</sup> AM 1861 had been a collaborative effort mainly by Tractarian clergy. Its unrivalled success in England was equally matched in South Africa. An invitation to the laying of the cornerstone at Christ Church in Constantia (21 March 1895) requests all attending to "... bring Hymns A & M."<sup>68</sup> According to Langham-Carter, the choirboys from St Saviour's led a procession to the building site and two hymns were sung: 391 and 179.<sup>69</sup> Above and beyond the obvious, these pieces of information tell us two things: congregants owned their own hymn books; and St Saviour's had a choir of boys and men.

AM was also being used on the mission field. Unfortunately the missionaries found indigenous Xhosa music offensive because of its link to ethnic religion. Regrettably they decided to ban traditional ethnic music and movement in their institutions.<sup>70</sup> They did, however, allow one indigenous hymn to remain in the repertoire: the Great Hymn by Ntsikana.<sup>71</sup> To replace the void they introduced western hymnody. The English texts were faithfully translated into the vernacular and twinned with Victorian tunes.<sup>72</sup> Modern historians have criticised missionaries harshly in this regard.<sup>73</sup> Firstly,

<sup>66</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 61 - 62.

<sup>67</sup> See Ellinwood and Manns, "The Publication of the Hymnal of the Episcopal Church".

<sup>68</sup> Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, 9.

<sup>69</sup> Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, 23. According to Hymns Ancient and Modern (old version), 391 is "Onward Christian Soldiers" and 179 is "To the name of our salvation".

<sup>70</sup> Dargie discusses the fascinating development of the Xhosa word for abstract music (*umculi*) in some depth. More importantly, he describes how music as a separate entity did not exist in Xhosa thought. Consequently there was no adequate terminology to describe it in western terms. Since movement was not an accepted form of music making in western culture, it was not encouraged. Neither clapping nor dancing was allowed (Dargie, "Christian Music Among Africans", 320). Coplan also discusses the missionary movement and its effect on African culture (see *In Township Tonight*, 37 - 49).

<sup>71</sup> Ntsikana was reputedly converted without missionary influence in about 1815. As a consequence he established Xhosa Christianity within the Xhosa culture. His influence is still greatly felt among South African Christians. Dargie has analysed his musical contribution (Dargie, "The Music of Ntsikana").

<sup>72</sup> Miles Coverdale had done exactly the same thing in about 1535 when he translated many of the Wittenberg hymns from German into English and retained their original German tunes. See Leaver, "Christian Liturgical Music in the Wake of the Protestant Reformation", 132. Although the tunes did not alter the meaning of the

they made no attempt to include Xhosa thought patterns and poetic forms in their translations. As a consequence, much of the European imagery was completely lost on the Xhosa converts. Secondly, the tonal and metrical patterns of the Xhosa language appear to have been ignored in the early days. Xhosa tends towards trochaic versification whereas English is more often iambic. This caused trouble when some English tunes carried Xhosa words because the accents fell in the wrong places. Additionally, the melodic contours of some tunes interfered with the meaning of Xhosa words and phrases. Sadly, not only were the Xhosa without their cultural music, but their language was being mangled as well. Thirdly, by introducing purely western music and thought patterns, the missionaries were forcibly enculturating the Xhosa and completely undermining their traditional way of life.<sup>74</sup>

### Musical standards

It is difficult to tell what the standards of cathedral and parish music were in the diocese. Glowing reports of the cathedral choir abound after the 1860's. Obviously Charles Thomas and Thomas Barrow Dowling (1861 - 1926)<sup>75</sup> were fine organists and choral leaders. A number of visiting British musicians spoke highly of the cathedral choir and their musicality, but whether the modern critic would have judged the choir equally good is uncertain.<sup>76</sup> Nonetheless, for its time in history, the cathedral choir was respected, taking into account that it was an amateur group. Parish music is more tricky to judge. In 1854 the Bishop of Grahamstown's wife visited St Saviour's in Claremont and enjoyed the service, except "the music which was the vilest bawling drawl ever perpetrated in an English meeting house."<sup>77</sup> A new music mistress helped to improve the situation in the parish, and gradually it was rectified. In fact, as seen above, St Saviour's came to have a recognised and reputable music programme towards the close of the century. Other parishes may not have been as fortunate. Musical standards are very much dependent on competent music directors, who were a scarce entity in the relatively small colony. Besides, musicians were expensive and fledgling parishes would have struggled to employ competent organists.

In summary, the Anglican Church in the Cape before the twentieth century was still establishing itself. The Province was only officially established in 1870 by Bishop Gray, and the next thirty years

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English words (as they did the Xhosa), their metre many have caused some strange accents in English. Therefore, one can imagine why the missionaries felt it their duty to translate the hymns – one of their very own pioneers, Coverdale, had done exactly the same thing three hundred years before.

<sup>73</sup> See Dargie "Christian Music Among Africans", 321 and Olwage, "John Knox Bokwe and Black Choralism".

<sup>74</sup> Dargie, "Christian Music Among Africans", 320 - 21 and Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, 40 - 41.

<sup>75</sup> Barrow Dowling was organist at St George's from 1888 - 1926.

<sup>76</sup> See Smith, *Historical Survey of Organs and Music of St George's Cathedral*, 60, 65, 78, 80.

<sup>77</sup> Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, 12.

witnessed incredible expansion in the church as newer settlements were created. Furthermore, the diamond and gold rushes towards the end of the century attracted vast crowds of immigrants who needed spiritual guidance. The thrust of the expansion was northwards and most of the church's resources were spent on church buildings and clergy salaries. Not surprisingly, music was not the Church's highest priority. Nevertheless, the major cathedrals (Cape Town, Grahamstown and Bloemfontein) all employed fine musicians and established choral traditions. Many diocesan parishes also worked hard to create choral groups and supported them earnestly. The musical picture among white and coloured parishes is one of development and expansion along the lines of the English music scene, but usually on a more modest scale. In contrast to the English pattern, was the developing musical tradition amongst the black converts on mission stations. Although their hymnody was based on western tunes and words, an African character began to seep into their harmonisations. This was the beginning of the rich black choral tradition which exists today.

### **Music in the first half of the twentieth century**

The first fifty years of the twentieth century in South Africa were characterised by two things: war and the foundations of formal apartheid. The two World Wars had a devastating effect on all of Europe, but also on all of the colonial nations which helped to defend the freedom of the world. The wars had economic consequences for South Africa, and as a result, music was low on the list of priorities. But, more important within the South African context was the political preparation for formal segregation. Even before the Nationalist government began introducing apartheid, the British colonial authorities had supported, and in some cases even encouraged, discrimination against local black and coloured people.<sup>78</sup> The Union of South Africa, created in 1910, benefitted the white population in every way. There were concerted efforts to reconcile the English and Afrikaners, but other races were not included in this programme.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps most poignantly, the black South African soldiers who had fought for the freedom of Europe in the World Wars were denied it in their own land.

The Anglican Church was not free from this divisive system. In fact, its founding bishop, Robert Gray, openly encouraged it. Until the middle of the twentieth century the entire Anglican Church was run under two administrations: one for the white people, the other for mission converts.<sup>80</sup> Besides the

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<sup>78</sup> Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, 186 - 88.

<sup>79</sup> Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, 229 - 37.

<sup>80</sup> See "Provincial Missionary Conferences" in Suberg, *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa*, 70 - 72. In the Cape, if the service included coloured people, they were required to sit at the back of the church, while the white parishioners sat at the front (Bamford, *Parish Profile*, 3). Some churches had completely separate services for people of colour, usually in the evening (Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, 3). This resulted in

impact on the demographics of individual parishes, segregation also affected church societies and organisations. Cross-fertilization between African and European cultures was then minimal until the 1980's. Consequently, the broader developments in black and white Anglican music have been independent.

There were unifying elements however. Two that stand out are the liturgy and, surprisingly, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. At the beginning of the century, BCP 1662 was still the only authorised version in the Province. Developments were slow, but by 1929 a new Eucharistic prayer was born and by 1954 a whole new prayer book was issued. Before the 1960's, the common round of services included Eucharist in the early morning, Matins at 11am and Evensong at 7pm. In many parishes the offices were led by the choir and the congregation's participation was fairly limited (see chapter five).

*Hymns Ancient and Modern* infiltrated practically every Anglican parish in some way. It was virtually the only Anglican hymnal in Southern Africa until the *English Hymnal* was published in 1906. It was used for every occasion in the church and was beloved among the ordinary people. Evidence suggests that many Anglicans owned their own hymnbooks, and there is no reason to believe that this changed until well into the twentieth century.<sup>81</sup> Nowadays, many parishes supply hymnbooks in the pews. Black mission hymnody was also influenced by this ubiquitous hymnal, many missionaries choosing to translate the hymns they found in this publication. Sometimes the hymns were recorded and released as gramophone compilations with other ethnic Xhosa music.<sup>82</sup>

English worship was still dominated by the *Authorised Version* of the Bible (also known as the King James Bible). The rich selection of modern translations which we enjoy today only began to emerge after the publication of the *New English Bible* in 1961.<sup>83</sup> Thus, language usage continued to be formal and archaic. "Thee" and "thou" characterised any reference to God. Even contemporary hymn writers like R. T. Brooks (1918 - 1985), C. A. Alington (1872 - 1955) and Jack Winslow (1882 - 1974) were using this type of language.<sup>84</sup> The Afrikaans, Xhosa and Zulu translations of the prayer book and Bible, in the earlier part of the twentieth century, were far more contemporary linguistically because they were rendered in modern parlance.

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the highly unusual Evening Eucharists which were celebrated after Evening Prayer at Christ Church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, 26.

<sup>81</sup> See section, "Hymns Ancient and Modern" above.

<sup>82</sup> Olwage, "Apartheid's Musical Signs", 37.

<sup>83</sup> Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy*, 184.

<sup>84</sup> See *The New English Hymnal* 496, 265 and 240 respectively.

Worship in the Anglican Church tended to be clerically controlled with very little, if any, input from laity. Since choirs were situated in the chancel and wore robes, they too were seen as leaders of the worship. This enhanced the status of choral singing greatly and proved helpful in recruiting members. In white parishes the widespread acceptance of Tractarian theology throughout the diocese and Province meant that worship tended to be fairly homogenous. Common worship books such as *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the *Parish Psalter* and the ubiquitous Merbecke setting of the Eucharist meant that worship from parish to parish was almost identical. Even Evangelical parishes used these same resources.

Black parishes tended to be slightly different for two reasons. Firstly, the liturgy was set in the vernacular. The translators were careful not to interfere with the liturgical progression or the inherent western thought patterns, and so followed the BCP 1662 exactly.<sup>85</sup> In this sense, the worship only differed in language, not in content. Secondly, the gradual improvements in the vernacular hymnals and the Africanisation of the western harmonic system ensured that the musical component of the services was unique.<sup>86</sup> At the same time, an entire corpus of original black religious music, largely in western idiom, began to emerge.<sup>87</sup> Mission stations had introduced musical instruction to their converts during the nineteenth century.<sup>88</sup> Consequently, black composers began writing hymns and anthems for their own choirs. The overtly western teaching programme<sup>89</sup> and the subverted traditional culture of the black people meant that none of these compositions were truly ethnic, but they did display a predilection for certain chordal progressions which imitate traditional African music. Because of the segregated worship system, many of these compositions are unknown in traditionally white and coloured parishes.

Another major development in black Christianity in the early twentieth century was the Zionist Movement. Anglicanism in South Africa has its own strand of this movement called "The Order of Ethiopia". Zionist churches tend to encourage ethnic thought forms and music in worship.<sup>90</sup> As a result, drums and dancing began to rise in popularity in black church communities. Traditionally

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<sup>85</sup> Suberg, *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa*, 77.

<sup>86</sup> Dargie, "Christian Music Among Africans", 320.

<sup>87</sup> Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, 42 - 45.

<sup>88</sup> See Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, 39 - 42.

<sup>89</sup> By the mid twentieth century Anglican missions were beginning to encourage local ethnic Xhosa music in their curricula. A report by inspector P. J. Britton in 1946 states, "Songs in Xosa [sic] (and other) languages, to the original African folk-tunes, are encouraged, especially in the lower standards of the schools, where the medium is the African tongue. Recent research in the Transkei and Ciskei has uncovered many beautiful tunes, which one hopes will be increasingly used in the schools." See Kirby, letter to local government, 1946. (Cape Archives CO, vol. 4309, ref. CE 426).

<sup>90</sup> Suberg, *The Anglican Tradition in South Africa*, 68 -70.



educated black Anglicans tended to reject these trends, and preferred to retain the western formalities associated with Anglo-Catholic worship.

### Music at St George's Cathedral

By the turn of the century, Barrow Dowling had been the incumbent organist of the cathedral for twelve years. In that time the choir had continued to flourish and attain glorious musical heights. Barrow Dowling appears to have been a well-respected musician both in Cape Town and abroad and his efforts in church music earned him a Lambeth doctorate. Perhaps his most important and longest-lasting contribution to music was his establishment of the Cape Organ Guild.<sup>91</sup> Throughout its history, this organisation has supported local organists by hosting educational programmes, concerts and festivals.

Unlike English cathedrals, St George's did not have the financial means to support a daily routine of choral services. But there was a precentor on the staff to supervise liturgy and music. The absence of daily services afforded the choir much time for rehearsal, and by the turn of the century the boy choristers were rehearsing every day. According to contemporary reports, the boy's voices were well trained and of high quality.<sup>92</sup> For an amateur choir, they seem to have achieved much distinction. Certainly, the choir was good enough to perform the *St Matthew Passion* and earn the praise of a visiting English musician.<sup>93</sup> Undoubtedly they were the best Anglican choir in the diocese, and perhaps in the whole Province. It is highly likely that city parishes looked up to the cathedral as the pinnacle of musical endeavour.

Some surviving music lists from the time show that the cathedral organists were following the English model closely, albeit with a slightly dated repertoire, since Stanford and contemporary composers do not feature regularly.<sup>94</sup> It appears that local compositions were not favoured, were unsuitable, or otherwise non-existent since there is no record of them.

The habit of appointing British musicians to premier church positions persisted into the early twentieth century. After Barrow Dowling had retired, James Alban Hammer (1882 - 1952) was appointed organist.<sup>95</sup> Although he had been at Bloemfontein cathedral since 1920, he was an

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<sup>91</sup> Smith, *Historical Survey of Organs and Music of St George's Cathedral*, 84 - 85.

<sup>92</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 90.

<sup>93</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 91.

<sup>94</sup> See part three in Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*.

<sup>95</sup> Hammer served as organist from 1926 - 1952.

expatriate with an FRCO<sup>96</sup> and much experience of the English choral scene.<sup>97</sup> Thus, the English flavour of Anglican music at St George's was maintained.

### Music at Anglican schools

In Cape Town progressive developments in the realm of music occurred in Anglican schools during the early twentieth century. At the turn of the century the only musical activities offered at Bishops were sporadic choral concerts and singing classes for the juniors. Harold Birt, when he became principal, felt this was not sufficient and he convinced the school council to create a full-time music-director post - music was gradually finding its place in the school curriculum. By 1934 Claude Brown arrived to become music master. Not only did he expand the existing choral programme within the school, but he created the Cape Melodic Society. The school choir and the Melodic Society often joined forces and presented the Cape Town premiers of a number of key works in the western canon. Perhaps the most notable of these performances was the Bach *B minor Mass*.<sup>98</sup> It appears that Brown was an ardent supporter of the giants of western music: Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, etc. He was also not scared to try novel new works such as Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius*. From all accounts Brown was a musical pioneer and a brilliant choral teacher at work.

Chapel music also improved. In 1950, McIntyre made some important observations: "Here the Psalms are now sung to modern, free rhythmic chanting; a great deal of plain-song has been introduced, and much of the best modern English Church music has been sung."<sup>99</sup> What this tells us is that Claude Brown was introducing new trends to the Anglican music world in Cape Town. Brown would have been trained in Britain at the time when the 1928 Book of Common Prayer was being created. Tractarianism was transforming the musical life of the church with plainsong hymns and chanting. Not only this, but Brown would have been exposed to composers such as Stanford, Howells and Vaughan Williams. The British renaissance in music was beginning to have an effect in Cape Town.

Anglican schools around the country were also instilling a love for English Church music in their students. Davidson remembers that while she was at Diocesan College for Girls in Johannesburg in the early 1950's, the choir sang Evensong every day. Granted, they were only chanting the canticles

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<sup>96</sup> FRCO (Fellow of the Royal College of Organists) is the highest qualification from the Royal College of Organists.

<sup>97</sup> Smith, *An Historical Survey of Organs, Organists and Music at St George's Cathedral*, 88 - 89.

<sup>98</sup> McIntyre, *The Diocesan College*, 86.

<sup>99</sup> McIntyre, *The Diocesan College*, 86.

and psalms, but they did sing anthems on special occasions.<sup>100</sup> Whether this was common at other Anglican schools is not certain. The girls at St Cyprian's School for Girls in Cape Town attended Evensong at St George's every Sunday. Their weekly round of services also included hymns and occasional anthems.<sup>101</sup>

### Music in the parishes

Developments in communication and musical recording during this era had a positive effect on music in parishes. New music was more easily available, except during the World Wars, and musical education in schools was ensuring a succession of enthusiastic choristers. Matins and Evensong continued to be the main services on a Sunday, supported by large congregations. Towards the late 1940's the Parish Eucharist Movement was beginning to influence South African clergy, and gradually parishes began introducing a 9:30am parish Eucharist as the principal morning service. Even then, Evensong remained as a popular evening alternative to the morning Eucharist.<sup>102</sup>

In the smaller parishes the canticles and psalms were probably sung to Anglican chant. Herbert Howells, the English composer, commented on Anglican chanting at the parish church at Mossel Bay in 1921: "... from the English Church, a chant for the Venite, sung too quickly to be unanimous..."<sup>103</sup> Whether this style of quick chanting was common in other parishes is not known. Understandably, the repertoire in these smaller churches was fairly limited and the role of the choir was mainly to lead congregational singing. Nonetheless, choirs prepared anthems for special occasions such as patronal feasts and other major festivals in the calendar. The *Parish Psalter* seems to have been fairly ubiquitous throughout the diocese and Province at parish level.<sup>104</sup>

St Matthew's in Claremont may be representative of other similar sized parishes. In 1902 they had a children's singing group which led the congregation in the hymns.<sup>105</sup> They also chanted a psalm and rendered a number of "Epiphany carols"<sup>106</sup> as anthems. The parish only acquired an organ in 1957, so they probably used a harmonium to accompany worship. Smaller parishes probably developed

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with Margie Davidson.

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Veronica Douglas.

<sup>102</sup> Interviews with Christopher and Anthony Gregorowski.

<sup>103</sup> Van der Mescht, "Herbert Howells' Visit to South Africa", 53.

<sup>104</sup> All interviewees mentioned this.

<sup>105</sup> Thomas, *St Matthew's Church Claremont*, 4.

<sup>106</sup> These must have been the Epiphany hymns contained in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, since neither the English Hymnal (1906) nor the Oxford Book of Carols (1928) had been published yet. If the first hymn of the dedication service is anything to go by, they were using the old edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (Hymn 395 at the beginning of the dedication service is "O word of God above", the first hymn in the section for "Festival of the Dedication of a Church").

choirs with both men and women (boys and girls), since their resources were limited. A photograph of the choir at Christ Church in Kenilworth of 1913 or 1914 shows both male and female choristers.<sup>107</sup> It is interesting that only the men are robed and the women are all dressed in white dresses with hats.

In larger parishes choirs were more adventurous. Full settings of the canticles and anthems were regular features. The publication of the *Church Anthem Book* (edited by Davies and Ley)<sup>108</sup> in 1933 must have enriched the repertoire of these groups. Wealthier parishes tended to attract good organists because of their existing choral traditions and fine instruments. Thus, churches like St Saviour's, St Paul's and St Michael and All Angels continued to maintain choirs of men and boys. Their repertoire probably reflected the cathedral tradition, perhaps tempered by some modern developments from England. Other growing parishes had mixed choirs. Their repertoire was probably not quite as advanced. At Christ Church in Kenilworth, the psalm chanting was rendered in the "King's College fashion"<sup>109</sup> (a sign of the influence of gramophone recordings) and canticles and anthems featured regularly at Matins and Evensong. The Christ Church choir even participated in the Cape Town Eisteddfod while Elsie Jennings was their organist and choir director.<sup>110</sup>

Services of Carols and Lessons for Christmas began to rise in popularity during these years. This can be attributed to the admiration for the Nine Lessons and Carols presented annually at King's College Cambridge. Anthony Gregorowski recalls that at All Saints in Plumstead, the carol service was presented during the Christmas season and not in Advent, as is common today.<sup>111</sup> Jean Westwood remembered that the Christ Church Kenilworth choir began rehearsing for the carol service in July each year.<sup>112</sup> For the choir and congregation this was the musical highlight of the year.

The ceremonial with which we celebrate Easter these days was not a feature of Anglican worship until the mid 1970's. More progressive parishes were beginning to experiment with newer Easter liturgies towards the 1950's, but by and large, congregations were content with the SAPB. Some parishes presented works like Stainer's *Crucifixion* to highlight the solemnity of the season.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Els, *100 Years of God's Grace*, 13. In the early twentieth century, Christ Church was a smaller parish, but it grew very quickly and soon boasted a fine musical tradition.

<sup>108</sup> Many parish music libraries have multiple copies of this anthology.

<sup>109</sup> Els, *100 Years of God's Grace*, 48.

<sup>110</sup> Els, *100 Years of God's Grace*, 49.

<sup>111</sup> Interview with Anthony Gregorowski.

<sup>112</sup> Els, *100 Years of God's Grace*, 49.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Christopher Gregorowski.

In a few parishes the music programme was completely racially segregated,<sup>114</sup> with separate services, choirmasters and organists.<sup>115</sup> This was not true of all churches, but increasingly this was to become the norm as the Group Areas Act (1950) was introduced. As a consequence, Church organisations were usually segregated too. For example, the Church Lad's Brigade was almost entirely a coloured group. They maintained lively marching bands which were extremely popular.<sup>116</sup> Many of these bands lasted well into the 1960's, but began to die out gradually after that.

In summary, the first half of the twentieth century was a time of consolidation and settling for the Church. Choirs began to flourish in parishes and their repertoires began to broaden. The effects of the World Wars were felt, but the ecclesiastical reforms which were to result from them only began to emerge in South Africa in the 1960's. The English model was encouraged and guarded fiercely. Some of the more modern trends in English music were observable, for example, modern psalm chanting techniques. Very little local music for the church was composed by white Anglicans during this time. However, in the newly established black parishes of Cape Town, black composers were contributing exciting new works for their choirs, mostly in western style and usually composed in tonic sol-fa. Even with the growing African component of the church, Anglicanism in South Africa was entirely English in character. The entire hierarchy was composed of white male expatriates, and many of the priests were not locals. This was to change radically in the following fifty years.

### Developments over the past fifty years

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed tremendous changes in theology, worship, liturgy and music. However, the liturgy had not changed adequately to accommodate these theological shifts. South Africa had been at the forefront of liturgical revision in the early twentieth century by introducing a revolutionary Eucharistic prayer in 1929 (see chapter five). But this too proved to be inadequate for younger generations who wanted contemporary language for prayer, especially since the *New English Bible* had been published. The Church heard the cry for renewal, and as part of an international liturgical renewal movement, began publishing experimental liturgies. Succeeding chapters will deal with the musical responses to specific liturgical changes and so it is not necessary to mention them here.

<sup>114</sup> Often a white congregation and a coloured congregation would worship at separate services in the same church building. See Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, 2 - 3.

<sup>115</sup> Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, 2 - 3.

<sup>116</sup> Langham-Carter mentions that both Christ Church in Constantia and St Matthew's Claremont had active marching bands. Beyond this, the Lad's Brigade was a benevolent society which encouraged community values and the Christian faith. See Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, 27.

One consequence of the Parish Eucharist Movement and liturgical renewal is of importance however. While the participation of the congregation during the Eucharist increased dramatically during this time, the role of the choir became decidedly uncertain. With the loss of the morning office of Matins, the choir was no longer required to lead psalmody, the canticles and the anthem chorally. A participatory Eucharist left little space for choral leadership in a manner equivalent to the offices. For 'cathedral imitation' parishes there were several options. One was to focus all of their energy on Evensong, and to allow the congregation to participate fully in the Eucharist. This occurred in a number of parishes such as St Stephens, Pinelands, and is still the practice in some churches today.<sup>117</sup> Another was to ignore congregational participation altogether, and to introduce the great Mass settings of musical history into the newly revived shape of the liturgy (which included all of the traditional Ordinary sections of the Mass). In this option, the congregational musical participation was relegated to hymn singing, which often happened in the staunch Anglo-Catholic Parishes, such as St Michael and All Angels, Observatory. One more option, was to review the role of the choir, and down-grade its ministry to leading congregational singing. Where this was done, choirs gradually diminished and disappeared for want of musical challenges. St Andrew's, Newlands, is an example. Yet in other congregations, like Christ Church in Constantia, choirs have come to a compromise, in which they participate in the congregational settings with great enthusiasm and contribute anthems and psalms occasionally. Four or five times a year they work towards special services of praise and thanksgiving where their participation is essential, such as in carol services, requiems for All Soul's and Easter Cantatas.

However, by and large, the gradual disappearance of the devotional offices of Matins and Evensong has required a massive shift in traditional Anglican music circles. The beautiful corpus of music designed exclusively for these services is gradually diminishing in significance. In fact, one of the uniquely Anglican contributions to liturgy and music in ecumenical Christianity, the offices of sung Morning and Evening prayer, are no longer held in high esteem in the church at large. This has been of great sadness to many musicians who have doggedly tried to maintain the traditional ways. Yet, it also signifies the diminishing English influence on the world-wide Anglican Communion. Perhaps this is a positive development for the South African Church, for it is no longer reliant on English culture to present authentic worship.

Besides the far-reaching liturgical changes of the later twentieth century, there have been many other social and theological shifts which have affected worship in the diocese.

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<sup>117</sup> Interview with Margie Davidson and Christopher Guilmour.

### Royal School of Church Music<sup>118</sup>

A number of individual South African parishes joined the Royal School of Church Music (RSCM) in the early 1930's,<sup>119</sup> but the benefits for local congregations must have been fairly limited. Claude Brown, the director of music at Bishops in the middle of the century, was appointed chief representative of the RSCM in South Africa in the late 1950's. He formed a small committee and together they began to organise national Summer Schools.<sup>120</sup> The first of these schools was held at St Cyprian's School for Girls (Cape Town) in 1960. Gerald Knight, the English director of the RSCM, came to South Africa to lead the school. They continued under the direction of local musicians<sup>121</sup> until 1967 when Gerald Knight returned to lead the school. Since then the director has usually been a distinguished English cathedral organist.<sup>122</sup> At the 1967 summer school, Knight formed four local branches of the RSCM in South Africa. The Northern Branch catered for the entire northern part of the country, mostly covering the old province of the Transvaal but also including Kimberley, while the Natal and Eastern Cape branches served the Eastern Seaboard. The Cape Branch, centred in Cape Town, did most of its work in the immediate area of the city and surrounding towns, including Stellenbosch, but seldom ventured as far as George and Knysna (which are technically under its jurisdiction).<sup>123</sup>

The Cape Branch has been a vital force in Anglican music since then. Their minutes and correspondence reveal a society that concerned itself mainly with the presentation of day schools and workshops in traditional English Church music. Often these day schools ended with a sung Evensong, using the SAPB. Occasionally training sessions for choir directors and choristers were presented. These courses usually focused on matters such as choral conducting, sight singing and learning new repertoire.<sup>124</sup> The branch enjoyed consistent growth until the late 1980's, mostly among Anglican parishes, but Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches occasionally showed interest.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> A brief historical sketch of the Royal School of Church Music (RSCM) in England is in chapter three. For a fairly frank review of the RSCM Cape Town Branch until 1986 see Appendix J.

<sup>119</sup> Willet-Clarke, RSCM Southern African Newsletter no. 2 (July 1977). According to Barry Smith, St George's Cathedral joined the RSCM in 1933. See Smith, "The Royal School of Church Music in South Africa", 156 - 58.

<sup>120</sup> Willet-Clarke, RSCM Southern African Newsletter no. 2 (July 1977).

<sup>121</sup> These included Claude Brown, Robert Selly, Barry Smith and Shirley Gie.

<sup>122</sup> A list of the directors and venues of the RSCM summer schools can be found in the Appendix K.

<sup>123</sup> Chalmers, *An Anglican Heritage in Transition*, 95 - 96.

<sup>124</sup> Interviews with Barry Smith and Owen Franklin.

<sup>125</sup> In 1980 the membership included 40 Anglican, 3 Congregational, 1 Catholic, 1 Methodist and 1 Presbyterian parishes. In addition, 2 choral societies and 3 schools were affiliated. See RSCM Cape AGM minutes 1981 (RSCM Archives).

The RSCM in Cape Town and across the country encouraged South African composers to write new settings of L75 and APB liturgies. A number of small composition competitions ensured that a variety of local settings were introduced into the repertoire. Other competitions for hymn tunes and anthems were also organised.<sup>126</sup> The comments surrounding these competitions reveal that the standard of composition appears to have been fairly low.<sup>127</sup> The branches had not focused on courses for liturgical composition, which must surely be one of the RSCM's greatest failures. Running competitions does not automatically raise compositional standards. They did, however, commission some of South Africa's prominent composers to write music for the society. As a result, a number of purely South African publications have been released. In the Cape, *A South African Collection*, published in 1988, contained a broad selection of musical items, including material from the Lumko Institute, *Nkosi Sikeleli*, and a host of anthems and hymn tunes.<sup>128</sup> The collection was used extensively at the 1989/90 Cape Town summer school. The committee also commissioned the well-known South African composer, Peter Klatzow, to write an APB Eucharistic setting for use at the Summer School. The setting, accessible as it is, has not been popular in parishes.

In the 1980's, most of South Africa's RSCM committees began investigating how they could better serve the black Christian community. In the Cape, Owen Franklin was particularly involved in teaching staff notation to black choirs.<sup>129</sup> The committee also hosted the *Missa Africana*, led by the Roman Catholic priest, David Dargie. This particular event included Zimbabwean Marimbas and local Xhosa instruments. Dargie was instrumental in helping to localise South African Roman Catholic worship between the 1970's and 80's. He is an expert in Xhosa traditional music and conducted many workshops in the country to assist local people in composing their own music for the liturgy.<sup>130</sup>

The RSCM in Cape Town can certainly be credited for their efforts in introducing new hymns and Eucharistic settings to congregations in the diocese. It must be noted that they were not quite as quick to respond to the influx of songs/choruses into local worship. The minutes of the committee meetings fail to reflect much of a positive response concerning charismatic music until the mid-1990's when the committee was chaired by Garmon Ashby.

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<sup>126</sup> See Willet-Clarke, RSCM Southern African Newsletter no. 2 (July 1977); RSCM Cape Town Composition Competition Entries and RSCM Orange Free State and Northern Cape Branch Hymn Tune Competition Entry Form.

<sup>127</sup> *Report of Kimberly Sub-Committee (March 1982 – June 1983)*, July 1983.

<sup>128</sup> Errol Slater, organist at St Paul's in Durban, reviewed this publication favourably in the February 1989 edition of *Seek*, the Anglican quarterly publication. In particular, he approved of the African songs and hymns in the collection (*Seek*, February 1989, 5 and 8).

<sup>129</sup> RSCM Cape AGM minutes 1981 (RSCM Archives).

<sup>130</sup> RSCM Cape AGM minutes 1982 (RSCM Archives).



At times, the committee has also seriously discussed the possibility of removing “Royal” from its name, as this appeared to be a reminder of colonialism.<sup>131</sup> It is true that the Englishness of the society still remains, albeit to a lesser extent than in previous years. In the late 1990’s the RSCM Cape branch decided to look carefully at their situation and begin planning for the future. Rev. Margaret Fourie and Rev. Kathy Roberts facilitated a number of discussion groups and created a plan for future development.<sup>132</sup> This has been echoed by all the other branches, and a national administrative body has been formed recently to lead the organisation. However, the local committees have retained an element of autonomy and they control the organisation of local events. In March 2010 the national committee organised an indaba to brainstorm the future of the RSCM in South Africa. Time will tell if all the decisions reached at this meeting will bear fruit. Certainly, there is a new willingness on the part of the RSCM to become an ecumenical body which will cater for all church music needs. There is also a desire throughout the national church to improve musical standards.

### Radio and church music

South Africa had a fledgling broadcasting industry from the early twentieth century. In 1927 the three separately administered divisions of broadcasting, all centred in South Africa’s main cities (Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban), were amalgamated by I W Schlesinger to form the African Broadcasting Company.<sup>133</sup> Even before that time live music was an essential component of broadcasting, and one of Cape Town’s eminent church musicians, Walter Swanson, was deeply involved in the performances. Although most of the music broadcast was chamber music or opera, occasionally larger oratorios were heard.<sup>134</sup> As a result of the flourishing local radio community, BBC World Service, although available, was not quite as popular or influential. For example, week-day Evensong services were not routinely broadcast in South Africa, and thus English Church music was not readily available on the airwaves.

This did change in 1950, when Roger O’Hogan started his Sunday evening programme *O Come Let Us Sing*. This legendary series continued for over forty years, and is still remembered fondly by many

<sup>131</sup> Smith, letter to Richard Cock, dated 23 October 1989 (RSCM Archives) Smith says, “...I began to wonder that if our most important links with the RSCM are ‘contacts and of providing people to run Summer Schools’ (whom we in Cape Town find without the help of the RSCM anyway – in fact Lionel [Dakers] was positively unhelpful in 1985 when we invited Donald Hunt) and ‘getting discounted music’ (which choirs here can’t afford anyway), then we should seriously investigate...[the] possibility [that] people see the word ‘Royal’ as redolent of the colonial, white supremacy Era.”

<sup>132</sup> See *RSCM (Cape) Plan for Future Developments* (RSCM Archives).

<sup>133</sup> Swanson, *Walter Swanson*, 9.

<sup>134</sup> See Marjorie Swanson’s biography of Walter Swanson (Swanson, *Walter Swanson*) for a thorough account of the inner workings of the music department of Cape Town’s broadcasting community.

people. The format of each programme was always the same, “with music chosen to reflect the season of the Church year in hymns, psalms, anthems and extracts from larger choral works.”<sup>135</sup> The repertoire listeners were exposed to was fairly varied, but by and large centred on the English choral canon. International performers were usually heard, including:

Such illustrious church music exponents as the Temple Church Choir of London and King’s College Chapel Choir of Cambridge feature regularly, along with fine organists like the late George Thalben-Ball and Simon Preston.

Massed choirs and great orchestras are also sometimes heard in the programme, with recordings made in ancient monasteries and abbeys - plainsong, psalms, glorious old hymns and all manner of delights.<sup>136</sup>

There is no doubt that this popular programme influenced many an organist and choir master in the country and exposed listeners to the latest musical trends in English and European choral centres.

### **Consultations on church music in South Africa**

In December 1967<sup>137</sup> and July 1969<sup>138</sup> an ecumenical group of clergy and musicians met to discuss the role of music in the South African Church. In particular the conferences concentrated on music in the black community. One of the most important topics at both consultations was localisation. The Zionist Churches had already introduced traditional African music in their worship early in the twentieth century, and African indigenisation had begun to seep into Jazz and popular township music in the 1930’s.<sup>139</sup> But mainline Churches were slow to realise the importance of this shift in musical consciousness among their members. To address this, the speakers at the conference introduced topics such as “Theological aspects of indigenisation”, “The role of music and dancing in services of the independent churches”, “Developing our own musical tradition”, “Translation of hymns – possibilities and limitation”, “African music and its significance for divine service”. The speakers were both black and white and represented a host of denominational affiliations. There was a remarkable willingness of black and white to work together in establishing common bonds; a difficult task in apartheid South Africa.

What these conferences revealed, among other things, was the increasing ecumenical co-operation between churches – quite unique in South Africa. Many of the musical problems faced by black congregations were similar: inadequate translations of western hymnody, unsingable western tunes, dearth of local composers, problems with tonic sol-fa notation and suspicion of ethnic music. Many

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<sup>135</sup> Mills, “Roger O’Hogan”, 60.

<sup>136</sup> Mills, “Roger O’Hogan”, 60.

<sup>137</sup> See *African Church Music* (Cory Library).

<sup>138</sup> See *Consultation on African Church Music* (Cory Library).

<sup>139</sup> Ballentine, “Music and Emancipation”, 189.

Christian black clergy and musicians had been so westernised that they were apprehensive about their own traditional music in church settings. And yet, Zionist churches were growing at an incredible rate because they embraced African idioms.

The Anglican delegates to these conferences were all from the Northern parts of South Africa, and so they could not speak on behalf of their counterparts in Cape Town. Yet, since so many of the delegates from diverse denominations and cultures shared similar problems, it is fair to assume that Xhosa Christians in the townships of Cape Town faced comparable obstacles. These were the delegates' observations:

1. Black congregations preferred Hymns Ancient and Modern as opposed to the English Hymnal because the harmonies in the former book were simple and clear.
2. Tunes with freer rhythms were required.
3. Attempts had been made to introduce national songs.
4. Traditional hymns and liturgical music were being introduced.
5. Plainsong was found to be inadequate in most communities. As a result, they felt it should be discarded.
6. Modern folk masses, such as Beaumont's, were found to be unsuitable because they required instrumental accompaniment and the black Anglican delegates felt that this style would soon become dated.<sup>140</sup>

At the 1969 consultation, three study documents were published for delegates. The first one is of particular interest. In it the lack of training for church musicians was lamented, and a number of solutions to this problem were suggested. It was felt that training for cantors, choir masters and composers was essential for a vital music tradition.<sup>141</sup> Joseph Maphope, one of the speakers at the consultation, suggested that black composers begin researching South African folk music to gain inspiration for new compositions. He reminded the delegates that Bartok, Liszt and Dvorak had incorporated folk song into their idiom of composition to inspire nationalism.<sup>142</sup> Special training for clergy in liturgy, hymnology and liturgical music was also envisaged.<sup>143</sup> One of the greatest problems identified was the lack of trained musicians to facilitate the recommendations of the study document. An Anglican participant noted, "Our church does not have sufficient well-trained men, sufficiently free from other duties, to be able to undertake intensive work in Church music."<sup>144</sup> Forty years on, this is still a problem.

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<sup>140</sup> *African Church Music*, 10 (Cory Library).

<sup>141</sup> *Consultation on African Church Music*, 88 (Cory Library).

<sup>142</sup> *Consultation on African Church Music*, 75 (Cory Library).

<sup>143</sup> *Consultation on African Church Music*, 88 (Cory Library).

<sup>144</sup> *Consultation on African Church Music*, 18 (Cory Library).

### Xhosa hymn book and liberation music

Traditionally black congregations in the Diocese of Cape Town have used the Xhosa hymn book *Iculo Lase-Tshetshi Ne-Ngoma*. This is the only truly local Anglican Hymnbook in the diocese. Much of the textual material it contains was derived from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (Standard Edition 1924), but some local hymns<sup>145</sup> and tunes<sup>146</sup> were also included (this will be covered in more depth in chapter eight). No original publication date is provided in the book, but the list of sources for tunes does not go beyond 1912. It was probably first published in the late 1940's or early 1950's, before the Revised Edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was released. The hymnal was revised in 1975 to include local settings of L75. So much has happened to enrich Xhosa church music in the past thirty years, particularly in the Roman Catholic Church, that it seems a pity that Xhosa Anglicans have not updated their official hymnal to reflect these changes. This is not true for the whole Province however; Zulu Anglicans thoroughly revised their hymn book in 1995. Although they still included many traditional western hymns and tunes, a new section with local choruses (*Amakhorasi*) was also added.<sup>147</sup> In practice, however, much new Xhosa material is sung by congregations, although this is often transmitted orally.

During the 1980's, at the height of apartheid, music by black South Africans was becoming a catalyst for liberation. Freedom songs were appearing at mass gatherings and even in church. Many of these songs had overtly Christian texts. Other songs, although they were not freedom songs *per se*, promoted a sense of unity and nationalism among communities. As a result, music composed in African style became a potent form of rebellion against the dominance of western music. Not only that, but freedom songs became a powerful form of anti-apartheid protest. And the white government took this very seriously. On the 19 June 1986 (during the second state of emergency), the whole congregation of St Nicholas, Matroosfontein was arrested for singing freedom songs during their Sunday Eucharist.<sup>148</sup>

After Vatican II the Roman Catholic Church began encouraging liturgical and musical localisation among their non-western dioceses. But, more importantly, they also began promoting the

<sup>145</sup> Ntsikana's hymn was included. Other texts by South African clergy were included too: from Rev J M Dwane, Rev. W Gcwensa, Rev. E J Manzana, Rev. V C Mayaba, Rev. W W Mjokozeli, J Ntsiko, Rev. A G Nyovane, Rev. Tiyo Soga and Rev. J J Xaba.

<sup>146</sup> The number of local tunes is far less representative. Birkett's Ngoma features significantly with fourteen tunes. Birkett was one of the tonic sol-fa pioneers of early South Africa. He worked extensively with the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape. Two tunes by John Knox Bokwe were included, one by Rev. R R Chope and one by Rev. C Nyombolo.

<sup>147</sup> See *Amaculo Esheshi* (listed in the 'Hymnbook' section of the bibliography).

<sup>148</sup> Clarke, *Anglicans Against Apartheid*, 401.

Africanisation of church leadership. The Anglican Church soon followed their example, and by the late 1960's had elected their first black bishop, Alpheus Zulu. The growing consciousness of African identity began to filter into music making too. In the Roman Church, Rev. David Dargie made it his mission to work with the Xhosa people, helping them to incorporate their traditional musical forms into Christian worship.<sup>149</sup> This was no easy task. The Xhosa people had been so inculturated by the British in the early twentieth century, that there were few proponents of pure Xhosa music. However, Hugh Tracey, the renowned ethnomusicologist, had made numerous recordings of traditional music and with the help of these recordings and the local people, Dargie developed a group compositional technique. Over two decades he introduced this method across the country. In a matter of years a corpus of new Xhosa church songs was available through the Lumko mission.<sup>150</sup> Anglicans have adopted a number of these songs into their worship, especially the music to accompany the Eucharist. Dargie also introduced the Zimbabwean marimba which had been used with great success amongst the Zimbabwean church people. Today it is not unusual to find worship accompanied by marimbas in black congregations, although they are not indigenous to South Africa.<sup>151</sup> Interest in traditional music cultures in South Africa continues to grow.

### Other hymn books

In the early months of 1975 the ACSA publishing house released *Sing Hosanna*, a bilingual (Afrikaans/English) hymnbook. The words edition was published first, followed some months later by the full music book.<sup>152</sup> Although it may have been used as a unifying element for English and Afrikaans congregations, it never reached its full potential. This is probably because very little contemporary material was included. In a letter to *Seek* in April 1975, Barry Smith described the hymn book as "ultra conservative".<sup>153</sup> In particular, he lamented the lack of modern hymnody.

Thirty years later, the matter of a local English hymnbook was raised at Provincial Synod. The proposer of the motion to compile the collection noted that, among other things, the theological shifts represented by APB were not adequately represented by *Hymns Ancient and Modern* or the *English Hymnal*.<sup>154</sup> For a start, these books contained no local material. The proposal also included this important statement:

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<sup>149</sup> For a detailed discussion of Dargie's work see Dargie, "African Church Music and Liberation" (Anglican Archives, AB 2546/R17).

<sup>150</sup> Dargie, "Lumko Music Department: Report on Activities Until October 1981".

<sup>151</sup> St Mary's, Gugulethu owns a set of marimbas.

<sup>152</sup> *Seek*, April 1975, 12.

<sup>153</sup> *Seek*, April 1975, 12.

<sup>154</sup> Both resolutions described in this paragraph can be found in Appendix L.

The Metropolitan be respectfully requested to establish a Standing Commission on church music, charged with providing authorised, effective, and moving music resources for the CPSA [sic] that both retain key theological features of the Christian faith and are also inclusive of the local languages and cultures of [Southern Africa]; gender; age groups; [differing theological stances]; and [different musical styles].<sup>155</sup>

The synod resolved that “the Metropolitan be respectfully requested to establish a Commission to begin the process of producing such a hymnal which reflects both the diversity of our Province and its rich musical traditions.”<sup>156</sup> However, neither of these commissions has been established as yet.

### **Charismatic Movement**

In the 1970's a movement of charismatic revival swept through the world-wide Church and almost every denomination was affected by it. Like many other movements in the church, a certain body of music began to emerge which supported charismatic Christians and their teaching. For years the church had been working to ‘emancipate the laity’ and this work was just beginning to bear fruit at about the same time as the Charismatic Movement was blooming. As a result, a number of inexperienced lay musicians were encouraged to begin leading parish music. The impact of untrained lay musicians on the church was vast. Much charismatic music was written and arranged by amateur and untrained musicians, and in many senses it was a genre of folk music. Many professionally trained musicians found this genre unsuitable for formal worship and rejected it wholesale. The implications for congregations are still being felt across the globe. Parishes have split over whether music should be led professionally or by amateurs.<sup>157</sup>

In South African Anglicanism, the Charismatic Movement gathered momentum when Bill Burnett was elected Archbishop (see chapter two). Because the movement emerged at the same time as many of the liturgical changes of the later twentieth century, some people have mistakenly associated charismatic music with liturgical change. Although some decisions regarding liturgical change were influenced by charismatic developments, liturgical change was not precipitated by charismatic clergy nor inspired by their teachings.

In the Diocese of Cape Town a number of parishes were, and still are, directly associated with the effects of the movement. In particular, the evangelically-minded clergy were drawn to the contemporary teachings of charismatic theologians. Their parishes tended to adopt charismatic music genres in an effort to inspire Christians to renew their lives. In Anglican parishes, charismatic

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<sup>155</sup> *Motions and Resolutions from Provincial Synod 2005*, 36 – 37.

<sup>156</sup> *Motions and Resolutions from Provincial Synod 2005*, 85.

<sup>157</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 241 - 42.

music was often included alongside traditional hymnody. This new music was well received in some of the white parishes and did much to revive those churches.

There have been critics of charismatic music. Most tend to focus on the music's overt appeal to emotionalism. At the 1979 SACLA conference, the apex of the Charismatic Movement in Southern Africa, one of the speakers, David MacGregor (Dean of Pretoria) warned that music with too strong a beat could build frenzy in worship.<sup>158</sup>

Nonetheless, more moderate charismatic musicians did influence congregational music positively by introducing new hymns and songs. In 1981 Christ Church in Kenilworth, and its associated parishes, produced a worship song book called *Praise the Lord* for this purpose. One of the most important aspects of the book is that it was intended as an ecumenical resource. Thus, hymnody from across the denominational spectrum was included. Choruses (a genre generally linked with the Charismatic Movement) also comprised a large portion of the anthology. Because choruses do not usually have specific denominational associations, they tended to promote ecumenical co-operation in worship.

When *Praise the Lord* was used in Anglican contexts, it made hymnody available which was not published in *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised*, for example, "Thine be the glory". It also introduced congregations to modern classics such as "I am the bread of life" and "Open our eyes, Lord". Much of the newer material came from the United States, and for the first time the largely English nature of South African Anglican worship was infiltrated by American trends. In essence, *Praise the Lord* was a local version of the popular books *Sounds of Living Water*, *Fresh Sounds* and *Cry Hosanna*. A number of the arrangements were written by Tony Westwood, a musician at Christ Church.<sup>159</sup> Apart from these arrangements, there appears to be no local content. The musicians who designed and assembled this hymn book were not professionals, in the sense that they made a living in music (in fact Tony Westwood and Chris Dare both trained as medical doctors). This shows how the church's programme of encouraging the laity to take an active role in parish leadership was bearing fruit.

The popularity of this book was unprecedented. Churches across the nation, and sub-continent, bought it in vast numbers, and it enjoyed pride of place next to each denomination's official hymn book. One of the most important features of the book is that the songs were designed for full congregational participation. Of course, this complimented the liturgical movement's call for full and active participation by everyone in the congregation, which is why the liturgical renewal has often been associated with charismatic music.

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<sup>158</sup> Interview with Christopher Gregorowski.

<sup>159</sup> Els, *100 Years of God's Grace*, 78.

Around this time, while numbers at traditional Evensong services were declining fairly rapidly, charismatic churches began introducing evening youth services with music accompanied by worship bands. At Christ Church in Kenilworth, and their associate churches, the “Parish Praise” initiative was established in the mid 1970’s. These services were aimed at the youth and were accompanied by an orchestra. The music was a combination of hymnody and contemporary songs with arrangements by Tony Westwood and John Birch, while Chris Dare conducted the orchestra.<sup>160</sup> St Thomas’ in Rondebosch began experimenting with a similar service called “Prayer and Praise” on Sunday evenings with contemporary music.<sup>161</sup> Other parishes established smaller bands with piano, guitars and sometimes drums. Thus, the emancipation of the laity in the new experimental liturgies also began to liberate amateur musicians.

Increasingly, churches found organ accompaniment undesirable or old fashioned. The stubbornness of both organists and clergy resulted in many unfortunate arguments within the church in this regard. Some clergy tried to introduce a balance of both modern and traditional music and were hurt when their organists refused to play newer styles of music. Organists, in turn, were hurt because they had not been consulted about the changes, and they felt that the Anglican musical tradition was being threatened. In most cases neither organists nor clergy were particularly graceful in their dealings with one another. Eventually some organists were forced to leave, or resigned, because they were unwilling to change.<sup>162</sup> In these cases, a worship band was often recruited to lead the singing.

The highly polarised nature of arguments between traditional and contemporary musicians may have been exacerbated by the fact that Archbishop Burnett seemed to sanction charismatic worship at the expense of traditional Anglican services. Even if this was not his intention, it appears that a number of clergy and musicians interpreted his actions as such.<sup>163</sup> The international director of the RSCM, Lionel Dakers, commented upon the situation as it had developed by the 1980’s:

I was very concerned by the gulf which exists between the ‘traditionalists’ and the charismatics. It seemed to me that some of the traditional elements, especially those identified with the RSCM, were as arrogant towards the charismatics as they [sic] seemed to be towards the traditionalists! It therefore seems deplorable that a ‘we and they’ situation

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<sup>160</sup> Els, *100 Years of God’s Grace*, 77 & 103.

<sup>161</sup> Interview with Christopher Gregorovski.

<sup>162</sup> John Bertalot discusses this situation in his report on music in South Africa. See Bertalot, *Report on John Bertalot’s Tour of South Africa for the Royal School of Church Music Thursday 26 July through Monday 27 August, 1990* (RSCM Archives).

<sup>163</sup> A number of interviewees expressed their disappointment in Archbishop Burnett’s handling of issues around the charismatic movement. In some ways he seems to have polarised churches rather than reconciling them. Nevertheless, church historians would be able to assess the archbishop’s contribution better than I can.



exists which can only make the situation divisive, whereas music ought to be drawing us all together because of the common language it speaks.<sup>164</sup>

John Bertalot also makes mention of the uneasy relationships between charismatics and traditionalists as late as 1990.<sup>165</sup> This, of course, is not an exclusively South African problem. That these two musicians make mention of this situation, says as much about their own situations in Britain and the United States of America, as it does about South Africa. Although this was largely a white problem, rather than a South African one, some coloured parishes were affected by the division too, but black parishes were dealing with problems of their own. Thus, charismatic music, imported from America in particular, was essentially a white and coloured phenomenon.

In parishes where the charismatic influence was only moderate, morning services tended to focus on congregational singing with newer liturgies, while traditional Evensong was usually led by the choir using the SAPB.<sup>166</sup> In this way traditional and contemporary music shared equal support. This appears to have the most common trend among parishes during the 1970's and early 1980's.

### Music in Anglican consciousness

Besides analysing spiritual and political trends which have affected music, it is helpful to gauge what the public perception of music and musical standards was during periods of liturgical change. The national Anglican newspaper *Seek* periodically included articles concerning music. In chapter five a number of these articles will be cited with particular reference to music composed for L75 and APB. A couple of articles dealt with the visits of eminent international church musicians and organists, including the RSCM director, Lionel Dakers, and English choir trainer, John Bertalot. However, they seldom addressed issues surrounding music in parishes, but rather detailed the visitors' itineraries. Two articles, however, are of particular interest. In January 1986, Christopher Molyneux, a prominent parish musician in Cape Town, published a substantial critique of music in the Province.<sup>167</sup> He discussed, among other things, the shortage of competent organists and the role of the church musician in worship. He also criticised Canon 32 of the Province's constitution,<sup>168</sup> pointing out that to leave music in the hands of the bishops only resulted in lax standards. In essence, this was not a criticism of the bishops' lack of musical knowledge, but of their inability to delegate this important task to people with the appropriate qualifications. This article sparked much debate in *Seek* from

<sup>164</sup> Dakers, letter to the Archbishop of Cape Town, 16 July 1984 (Anglican Archives, AB 2546/R17).

<sup>165</sup> Bertalot, *Report on John Bertalot's Tour of South Africa for the Royal School of Church Music Thursday 26 July through Monday 27 August, 1990* (RSCM Archives).

<sup>166</sup> St Stephen's in Pinelands was a classic example of this approach.

<sup>167</sup> *Seek*, January 1986, 4 - 5.

<sup>168</sup> This Canon can be found in Appendix M.

both clergy and laity. The author noticed one response in particular, from the Rev. Owen Franklin, also a musician, “Much of the blame for the present appalling standards of church music in all but a few [choirs] can be laid at the doors of our theological colleges. The clergy have simply not been educated in liturgy and music...”<sup>169</sup> Indeed, this state of affairs continues to this day. In August of the same year a headline announced “Music breakthrough”.<sup>170</sup> The article spoke about David Pass, a post graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand, who had just completed a PhD thesis entitled “A Theological Theory of Music in the Church.” He hoped that his “theology” of music would make an international breakthrough in the realm of music. His thesis was published three years after he graduated,<sup>171</sup> but was not readily available on the South African market, and did not make the impact he had hoped for. His work was revolutionary, as it argued that no particular style of music is sacred as such; in other words, there is no reason why traditional hymnody and modern songs should not be used in the same service.

Some letters lamented the state of church music in parishes where the resident organist had either retired or been dismissed in favour of a worship band. Usually the writers of these letters equated liturgical change with the charismatic revival, reviling the changes in both language and music. In white circles, then, it seems that there was considerable dissatisfaction with parish music. No mention is ever made of black choirs and their progress.

### **Music at St George’s Cathedral**

The high standard of music established during the early twentieth century continued to be upheld by Barry Smith. Newer liturgies were introduced gradually, and Matins eventually gave way to a congregational Eucharist.

The choir of men and boys continued to flourish. Maintaining a choir with a boy treble line has not been easy however. Contemporary school children have demanding schedules which preclude the vigorous training required for high standards of singing. To exacerbate the situation, the governing body of St George’s Grammar School has been less than helpful in its attitude towards the cathedral and its choir.<sup>172</sup> Despite these obstacles, Barry Smith managed to uphold a fine tradition of singing throughout his tenure as organist at the cathedral (1964 - 2006).

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<sup>169</sup> *Seek*, March 1986, 8.

<sup>170</sup> *Seek*, August 1986, 2.

<sup>171</sup> The book was published in 1989 by B & H Publishers in the USA under the title *Music and the Church: A Theology of Church Music*.

<sup>172</sup> Interview with Barry Smith.

In 1967 the boys rehearsed on Monday and Thursday mornings for forty minutes, and then on Friday evenings for up to two hours. On Sundays they were expected to be at the cathedral at 10:30am to warm up for Matins and then at 6:20pm for Evensong. Additionally they were required to sing at four extra services: confirmation, Nine Lessons and Carols, St Cecilia's Day and the RSCM massed choir festival.<sup>173</sup> At times the repertoire of the choir has been very demanding, including some of the toughest settings of the canticles and the best English anthems.<sup>174</sup> Today, the choir continues under the direction of David Orr, the new cathedral organist. It is no longer an exclusively male choir - girls and women altos have been welcomed. The choir's repertoire is expanding, although it is not quite at the heights it has reached at times in the cathedral's history (see cathedral music lists - Appendix P).

Towards the end of the 1960's, Smith created a choir of adult singers to attempt some of the bigger works in the sacred repertory. The St George's Singers, still in existence today, have given the South African premiers of a number of works and have toured extensively. When the monthly orchestral Mass was introduced at the cathedral several decades ago, the St George's Singers presented the great western Mass settings month by month with an *ad hoc* orchestra. This monthly service, held on the last Sunday of every month at 11am, was well attended and financially supported.<sup>175</sup> Today the orchestral Masses continue, but are part of the parish Eucharist service at 10am. However, the masses are now usually sung by the Cathedral University Singers (established by David Orr).

In the late 1980's, Barry Smith and the cathedral council proposed that a specialist music school for pupils between the ages of eight and fourteen should be created in the neighbouring buildings in the cathedral close.<sup>176</sup> Proponents of the school envisaged a place where children of all races could interact and work together – foreshadowing what South African schools would become in the future. The idea was a noble one, and despite much work on the part of all parties involved, there was not enough capital to establish the school. However, within four years of the initial idea, schools throughout the country were beginning to accept children of all races.

During the tenures of Keith Jewel (organist at St George's from 1952 - 1963) and Barry Smith, the best of South African composers were commissioned to write works for the cathedral choirs. Among others, John Joubert (b. 1927), Peter Klatzow (b. 1945), Stephen Carletti (b. 1965) and Grant McLachlan (b. 1956) have contributed works to the regular repertoire of the cathedral music

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<sup>173</sup> All of this information comes from a *Choir Prospectus* dated January 1967 (Anglican Archives AB1363/C36 (file 2)).

<sup>174</sup> Interview with Barry Smith.

<sup>175</sup> Interview with Barry Smith.

<sup>176</sup> For specific details about the school, see *St Georges Music School* (Anglican Archives AB1363/C36).

programme. Although much of this music has been written in the English style, a number of individual works have incorporated specifically South African elements (rhythmic, rather than harmonic), for example Carletti's *African Canticles*<sup>177</sup> (which will be discussed in detail in chapter eight) and Klatzow's *Prayers and Dances from Africa*.<sup>178</sup> In the past ten years or so, the cathedral has been gradually introducing elements of African music into its worship. The final Eucharist for the Afro-Anglicanism conference,<sup>179</sup> for example, was celebrated in three languages (English, Afrikaans and Xhosa), and included both western hymnody and African church songs. Marimbas featured with some of the songs and hymns. This pattern has been used fairly frequently since then for diocesan services, particularly consecrations. An Evensong recorded for the BBC in 2005 included marimba music before the service. All the music in the service was by South African composers - a real triumph for South African Anglican music.

### Music in Anglican schools

Diocesan College has been blessed with a host of inspired music directors in its history. As a result, the standard of music and choral singing has risen consistently. Today the school hosts not only a choir, but an orchestra, string ensemble, brass band and marimba group. Liturgical change and contemporary social conditions have meant that there have been significant changes in the worship life of the chapel. In the 1950's there was a College Evensong every Sunday during term time. Today there is usually only one of these services a term.<sup>180</sup> Much like parishes, the Eucharist has become the main service at the college and at other Anglican schools. Each term opens and closes with a College Eucharist, and other special occasions in the church calendar are also celebrated in this manner. Mark Mitchell, the current director of music, has introduced a chamber music 'recital' during the administration of communion. This has encouraged this genre among the boys at Bishops. The chapel choir still continues with its choral traditions, presenting choral Vespers and a Carol service once a year. Usually they prepare a large choral work from the western canon every year, often combining with choirs of sister Anglican schools. The choir has toured Britain and Russia in the last twenty years.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Carletti explored African rhythms in the *Magnificat* and adapted a South African freedom song for the *Nunc Dimittis*. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter eight.

<sup>178</sup> Although Klatzow did not actually seek to mimic African rhythms or melodies, he used texts from Desmond Tutu's *An African Prayer Book* in the work. The dances, set in between the choral sections, were originally for brass ensemble, but he later adapted them for marimba. This adaptation has given the work more of an African flavour.

<sup>179</sup> Pew leaflet for Closing Eucharist of Afro-Anglican Conference, 24 January 1995 (Anglican Archives AB 2668).

<sup>180</sup> These Evensong services still follow SAPB closely.

<sup>181</sup> Interview with Mark Mitchell.

Like the cathedral, Bishops has been at the forefront of commissioning new South African choral works. In particular, Pieter Louis van Dijk's *San Gloria* is an example of truly ethnic South African classical music. Composition is an integral part of the musical curriculum at the college now, and occasionally the boys' compositions are premiered by the chapel choir or college musicians. Stephen Carletti has been instructing the boys in composition, and the standard of their work has been remarkably high. Garmon Ashby, a former musical director, and Mark Mitchell have been instrumental in including local African songs in chapel worship. Besides the popular African choruses in the regular repertoire of the congregation, it is not unusual for the choir to sing African carols for the Nine Lessons and Carol service in November every year. In addition, a number of contemporary worship songs feature in the school's worship book.<sup>182</sup> As a result, the College has become far more representative of the broader South African Anglican musical tradition than it has ever been before.

The rich choral tradition at the College has also encouraged a number of young students to begin organ lessons. In the late 1990's Garmon Ashby collected sufficient funds to establish the Claude Brown Organ Scholarship for Sixth Form. A number of the Cape's young organists have benefitted from this generous scholarship.

### Music in parishes

Much of what is written above already encompasses parish music. Many churches were affected by the Charismatic Movement. Those that were not, progressed organically towards a milder form of Anglo-Catholicism, that is, much of the outward ceremonial remained, but the theological aspects of Tractarianism largely disappeared. In some of these parishes popular choruses are sung side-by-side with traditional hymnody, mostly accompanied by the organ or piano. Most churches have a worship band associated with the evening service. Many of these play repertoire from the *Songs of Fellowship* series. Choral music continues in a number of parishes,<sup>183</sup> but the membership of most choirs began to dwindle by the late 1990's.

The effect of social and liturgical changes on the musical trends of parishes cannot be underestimated. Liturgically, the shift to weekly Eucharistic worship has meant that most families attend the main morning service. Social developments, particularly the introduction of television in the mid 1970's, also had an alarming effect on attendance at evening services. Some Sunday parish evening services were abandoned altogether, because "Rich man, poor man" aired at that time, and

<sup>182</sup> The college has a worship book which includes BCP 1662 Evensong and Psalms, as well as more contemporary hymns and songs.

<sup>183</sup> In 1987 when the RSCM Cape Town sent out a survey to parishes about combined choral festivals, nineteen of the twenty-two parishes which responded had active choirs. See Summary of Results of the Questionnaire about the Annual Festival, 1987.

congregants were not willing to miss it.<sup>184</sup> During the week, even church meetings on certain days had to be changed because of popular weekly television shows.<sup>185</sup> Naturally, attendance at weekly sung Evensong gradually diminished. But choirs were not dying. Parishes continued to present these uniquely Anglican services for many years, until congregations became smaller than the choir. Today, a number of churches, such as St Michael and All Angels in Observatory, host a monthly or quarterly sung Evensong. Otherwise, most parishes promote youth services on a Sunday evening.

By the early 1980's, liturgical dance had even crept into parish worship. A pew leaflet for a confirmation service held at St John's in Wynberg as early as 1981 already included dance. Besides the dance items, the service was fairly traditional and among the congregational items were hymns, including the plainsong versions of "Come Holy Ghost", and a Eucharist setting.<sup>186</sup>

One trend in South African churches is the use of illegally photocopied sheet music. The RSCM had sent a warning to its South African customers in the 1980's, stating that if the British government imposed sanctions against South Africa, it would be forced to stop its imports.<sup>187</sup> This never did happen, but it must have worried local musicians. As the Rand lost value in the 1980's and imported sheet music became increasingly expensive, many choir masters, band leaders and organists began photocopying music illegally, believing that their Christian Copyright Licence covered photocopied music. The Rand's value did not improve in subsequent years, and the trend continued. It is safe to assume that the publications by the local RSCM branches towards the end of the 1980's were designed to curb this inclination. Indeed, a stronger local publication and compositional base may have improved the situation. In 1990 John Bertalot dedicated a whole subsection of his report on South African church music to this issue.<sup>188</sup> Any attempts by locals to 'fill the gap' proved useless, and illegal photocopying continues to this day.

One other trend which Bertalot highlighted was the decline in the involvement of children in church music.<sup>189</sup> The RSCM has worked consistently to encourage children to become involved in church choirs, but, their work has not paid dividends to any tangible extent. Too many choir directors did

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<sup>184</sup> Interview with Rev Owen Franklin.

<sup>185</sup> In particular, no Bible studies or meetings could be scheduled for Tuesday evenings because *Dallas* aired at that time. Interview with Christopher Gregorowski.

<sup>186</sup> Service of Confirmation and first Communion/Celebrated by/The Most Reverend Philip Russell/Archbishop of Cape Town/on/Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> November 1981/at/7pm (Anglican Archives AB 1363).

<sup>187</sup> Letter from the RSCM publications' department to all South African customers, dated September 1985. In a letter dated 11 April 1986, Lionel Dakers (international RSCM director) and Vincent Waterhouse (RSCM secretary) noted that they were unaware that the abovementioned letter had been sent to RSCM patrons in South Africa, and apologised for any misunderstandings it had caused (RSCM Archives).

<sup>188</sup> Bertalot report, 5 (RSCM Archives).

<sup>189</sup> Bertalot report, 9 (RSCM Archives).

not have the charisma to retain the younger choristers, who increasingly chose sport and other entertainment over choral singing. In fact, youth participation in the church as a whole is exceptionally low.

Soon after the publication of APB, Geoff Quinlan, erstwhile suffragan bishop of Cape Town, published *A Manual for Worship Leaders*. This little resource was written to educate laity and to improve the standard of worship at parish level. Clergy had found that since the emancipation of the laity, many ordinary people wanted to participate in the leadership of parish worship. Most laity had little, if any, training in this sphere, and as a result this manual proved exceptionally influential. Bishop Quinlan, who is a creative leader, advocated the use of both hymns and worship songs, but stressed that only the best of both genres should be used in corporate worship. In particular, he discouraged the use of hymns and songs that stressed personal faith in the gathering rite, noting that the church is a community of faith. He also advocated the use of portions of longer hymns for particular circumstances, rather than the whole set of stanzas.<sup>190</sup> One of the most obvious influences of this book is the replacement of the “Gloria” with two or three hymns or songs. The bishop is careful to note that the “Gloria” should not be omitted too regularly, since it, in itself, is a fine worship song.<sup>191</sup> Nevertheless, a number of parishes now omit the “Gloria” completely to cater for a worship session at the beginning of the service.

In summary, the past fifty years have witnessed massive theological, liturgical and social changes, all of which have affected church music in some way. South Africa’s political system of apartheid and its segregated history have shaped the contemporary musical developments in traditionally black parishes, while trends in western Christianity have tended to influence white and coloured parishes. Other social developments, such as the introduction of television, have also affected attendance levels in parishes and, more importantly, choirs and music groups. The largely homogenous English style of the 1950’s has given way to a wide variety of styles and standards in parishes, which probably reflect the diversity of South African society much more clearly than the old style did.

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<sup>190</sup> Quinlan, *A Manual for Worship Leaders*, 29 - 31.

<sup>191</sup> Quinlan, *A Manual for Worship Leaders*, 44 and 50.

## Chapter Five

### Anglican Liturgy in South Africa

The liturgy of the church is therefore of over-riding importance, reflecting as it does the community's understanding of the nature of God who is worshiped and the nature of the worshipers themselves.<sup>1</sup>

...any study of the development of music during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries requires an awareness of the development of liturgy itself.<sup>2</sup>

#### Brief introduction to liturgical history in Southern Africa

The first generation of Tractarians, being mostly theologians and academics, were not particularly concerned with ceremonial and liturgy, but rather with doctrine. They staunchly defended BCP 1662 and continued to advocate its general use. However, as the movement's theology developed, its proponents became increasingly dissatisfied with the theological implications of the prayer book. By the mid nineteenth century Tractarian clergy began using Roman vestments for the Communion and soon Roman furnishings were common in their churches. Beyond that, some academics began translating the Roman Missal for comparison with the prayer book.<sup>3</sup> Bishops and clergy in Southern Africa, many of whom were influenced by the Oxford Movement, introduced these ideas to their dioceses. They, too, began questioning the theological soundness of the 1662 prayer book. This sets the scene for the situation in Southern Africa at the turn of the century.

The founding synod of the Province of South Africa (1870) had provided for liturgical renewal on the condition that it did not disturb the main essence of the *Book of Common Prayer*.<sup>4</sup> This particular rider had been included in the constitution of the church by request of the Lambeth Conference in 1867.<sup>5</sup> At first, major revision was not deemed necessary, nonetheless a liturgical committee was established by the Synod of Bishops at the beginning of the twentieth century to oversee all matters liturgical.<sup>6</sup> In the early years their recommendations were minor, such as alterations to prayers. For example, they recommended leaving out the prayer for the Queen in the Diocese of Bloemfontein which was not a British colony at the time.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Suggit, *The Simplicity of God*, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Beeson, *In Tuneful Accord*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Spinks, "The Eucharistic Prayer", 94.

<sup>4</sup> Article X, Provincial Synod 1870, see Botha, "Southern Africa", 197.

<sup>5</sup> Botha, "Southern Africa", 197.

<sup>6</sup> This committee was established as a sub-committee of the Synod of Bishops sometime after 1908 when the Lambeth Conference in principle permitted official revisions of the prayer book. See Botha, "Southern Africa", 197.

<sup>7</sup> Botha, "Southern Africa", 197.



Cynthia Botha notes, “In August 1911 an article in *The Church Chronicle*, the South African Anglican Church newspaper, argued that there was a ‘crying need’ for formal revision of the Book of Common Prayer to suit the particular South African circumstances.”<sup>8</sup> She goes on to demonstrate that revision was already occurring on an informal basis in parishes around the Province with the permission of the diocesan Bishops. It took another forty-three years for “piecemeal” revisions to culminate in *The Book of Common Prayer - South Africa*.<sup>9</sup> It seems, however, that some aspects of revision are far more important than others. The Eucharist almost always receives the most attention, followed by the daily office prayers. The other official services and sacraments of the Church followed slowly afterwards. This “order of procedure” has characterised South African revision throughout the twentieth century.

### **The Book of Common Prayer – South Africa (SAPB)<sup>10</sup>**

Thus, the story of the South African liturgy begins with a revision of the Eucharistic Prayer. By 1914 a scholarly duo of liturgists created a *Proposal* for a new anaphora for the South African church. The two priests, J S Bazeley and C J B Gould, both from the Diocese of Grahamstown, had been heavily influenced by an English academic, W C Bishop. Hinchliff comments, “Mr Bishop held a theory of consecration which was rare in that first decade of the century. The primitive anaphora was, he maintained, a series of logically ordered thanksgivings commemorating the great saving acts of God.”<sup>11</sup> The element of thanksgiving pervades the *Proposal* anaphora which is based on the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. As it transpired, a future Archbishop of Cape Town was present at the presentation of Bazeley and Gould’s *Proposal*. Francis Phelps (Archbishop of Cape Town 1930 - 38), “then a virtually unknown warden of the women’s community in Grahamstown, was soon to become in succession, first dean of Grahamstown, then bishop, then chairman of the provincial liturgical committee, and then, at last, archbishop.”<sup>12</sup> Before becoming archbishop, Phelps was chairperson of the liturgical committee. In this capacity he was able to guide the Eucharistic revision process, ensuring that the thanksgiving prayer became a reality. This official Eucharistic revision was ahead of its time throughout the Communion.

After a number of experimental rites had been tested and edited, *The Alternative Form of the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion* was published as a pamphlet in 1919.<sup>13</sup> The Bishops

<sup>8</sup> Botha, “Southern Africa”, 194.

<sup>9</sup> The prayer book is often called the *South African Prayer Book* by scholars and lay people.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix C for a comparison between BCP 1662 and SAPB.

<sup>11</sup> Hinchliff, *Memorandum*, 3 (Anglican Archives AB 907f).

<sup>12</sup> Hinchliff, *Memorandum*, 3 (Anglican Archives AB 907f).

<sup>13</sup> Hinchliff, *Memorandum*, 5 (Anglican Archives AB 907f).

had been in contact with Frere concerning their proposed revisions. He suggested thirteen alterations to the experimental rites which were incorporated into the alternative form. "The continuing concern with antiquity and Eastern forms can be seen in the writings of W. H. Frere, and a number of Eucharistic prayers which were composed c. 1928, even if the expression of concern tended to be limited to the anamnesis and epiclesis."<sup>14</sup> Certainly, these influences are clear in the 1920 revised version of the rite. In fact, its publication caused much distress throughout the Province. The point of contention was the inclusion of an epiclesis. Anglo-Catholics were worried that an invocation of the Spirit would undermine the Words of Institution. After much debate, the Bishops doggedly insisted that the entire prayer effected the consecration, and not any particular section thereof. In line with this, Archbishop Phelps only genuflected at the end of the entire Eucharistic Prayer.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the revision centred on the Consecration Prayer itself, but there were a few smaller changes as well. At the beginning of the service a threefold *Kyrie* was included as an alternative to the Ten Commandments.<sup>16</sup> A report from almost forty years later suggests that by that stage the *Kyries* were preferred above the Ten Commandments even in a said Communion.<sup>17</sup> The *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei* were still absent, although it is clear from the same report that clergy tended to include them whether or not there was a sung Eucharist.<sup>18</sup> The final form of the rite was approved by Provincial Synod in 1929 and became the basis for the SAPB. The occasional offices were less controversial and were adopted almost entirely from the 1928 Church of England revision of the prayer book. Hinchliff notes, "The South African Prayer Book originally appeared in three separate stages, bound in three separate volumes:

(I) The Liturgy, Collects, Epistle, and Gospels (1932).

(II) The Calendar and Occasional Offices (1936).

(III) Choir Offices, etc., Psalter, and Ordinal (1954)"<sup>19</sup>

Later in 1954 all three were combined into one book. *Seek*, the local Anglican newspaper, in July 1975 said, "When the South African Prayer Book was published in 1954 it soon won praise, setting a

<sup>14</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 93.

<sup>15</sup> Handwritten margin note in Hinchliff, *Memorandum*, 8 (Anglican Archives AB 907f).

<sup>16</sup> SAPB, 228 - 29.

<sup>17</sup> See *Report of Commission on Liturgical Practices on the Diocese of Cape Town* (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>18</sup> See *Report of Commission on Liturgical Practices on the Diocese of Cape Town* (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>19</sup> Hinchliff, *Memorandum*, 1 (Anglican Archives AB 907f).

standard which other branches of our Anglican family of churches copied.”<sup>20</sup> An achievement the Province’s liturgical committee was justly proud of. But, within four years the Lambeth Conference of 1958 had advocated the need for significant modern liturgical revision. Ultimately, this set the scene for the liturgical revolution which occurred towards the end of the twentieth century and culminated in *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* (APB) in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa.

The piecemeal revisions were accepted into mainstream worship fairly quickly, which prompted Hinchliff to say, when comparing the English Prayer Book of 1928 and the South African revisions, “...The South African rite has had a comparatively painless passage.” Later in the same paragraph he makes an interesting observation:

...within six years of becoming canonical it was widely used in the northern dioceses of the province – though admittedly not so widely in the more conservative south. (One suspects that the situation is now reversed; that there has been a decline in its use in the north where it has been superseded in some parishes by the *English Missal* and other productions of that kind, while it is now in general use in the south...<sup>21</sup>

Evidently, translations of the Roman rite were becoming popular in the Province – not an unusual occurrence considering the Anglo-Catholic nature of the Province in general.

### **Patterns of worship in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa before 1969**

It is difficult to determine with any precision what the worship patterns of most parish churches were in the first half of the twentieth century. Besides a few scant pew leaflets commemorating special occasions, there are only a few clear indications as to the weekly Sunday routine.

Some idea of the earliest forms of worship is alluded to by Hinchliff:

The Bishops seem to have assumed that each parish would have at least one celebration of the eucharist each Sunday. The provincial synod had resolved in 1870 that it was desirable that the holy communion should be celebrated every Sunday and feast day at an early hour. It is impossible to tell how soon this became an almost universal custom, but it is highly probable that it had happened by the beginning of this century.<sup>22</sup>

Chapter two has shown that Southern Africa was heavily influenced by the Tractarian Movement. Two Eucharistic phenomena flow from this influence: the magnification of the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament; and weekly (even daily) Communion services. Many clergy encouraged their parishioners to fast before receiving Communion because of their high view of the Sacrament. As a result, a 7am Communion service without sermon was the norm throughout the Province.<sup>23</sup> Sung

<sup>20</sup> *Seek* (July 1975), 4.

<sup>21</sup> Hinchliff, *The South African Rite and the 1928 Prayer Book*, 5.

<sup>22</sup> Hinchliff, *The South African Liturgy*, 16.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with John Suggit.

Matins followed later at 11am and was the main service of the day. According to Canon Suggit, as late as the mid 1940's evening Communion services were not permitted, even on Maundy Thursday.<sup>24</sup> Since Southern African Anglicanism was so staunchly Tractarian, it was no surprise that when *Mediator Dei* was promulgated in 1947, the relaxation of fasting rules resulted in more regular evening Eucharist services, especially during the Easter Triduum.

A pew leaflet from the Parish of Holy Trinity in Kalk Bay provides some evidence of common practice at Eastertide. The leaflet advertises Holy Week and Easter in 1911,<sup>25</sup> and shows five Sunday services for Easter Day: 7:15am (said Eucharist); 8:15am (said Eucharist); 10:45am (Choral Matins and Eucharist with sermon); 3pm (Children's service); 6:45pm (Evensong with sermon). Granted, this is not the usual round of services for a ordinary Sunday. Sadly the only indication of the standard routine is a reference to Palm Sunday which says only: "The usual Sunday Services." The leaflet also gives important information regarding Easter celebrations in the early twentieth century. On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday of Holy Week there was a Holy Eucharist at 8am, Matins and a short sermon at 10:30am and Evensong with sermon at 7pm. Good Friday was packed with services: Litany and Ante-Communion<sup>26</sup> 7:30am; Matins and sermon 10:30am; Meditations on the Words from the Cross 12noon - 3pm and Evensong and sermon 8pm. Note that there was no Maundy Thursday evening celebration of the Eucharist, and no mention of an Easter Vigil. Also interesting to note is that the term "Eucharist" was used even though the BCP 1662 would have been in use at the time.<sup>27</sup>

Hinchliff notes that the Bishops authorised a scheme for combining Matins, litany and the Eucharist into one service during their 1911 synod.<sup>28</sup> This was along the lines suggested by Frere. No doubt this scheme for the main service of the day was followed in a number of parishes at about this time. Unlike Frere, the South African Bishops also "provided for the singing of hymns."<sup>29</sup>

John Suggit tells how, when he first arrived in South Africa in the mid-1940's, the first service on a Sunday was a said Eucharist at 7:15am or 7:30am. A much longer Matins service was held at 11am with no sermon, and then Evensong was at 7pm with a sermon.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with John Suggit.

<sup>25</sup> Pew leaflet for Easter Services, Holy Trinity, Kalk Bay, Easter 1911 (Anglican Archives AB 875f).

<sup>26</sup> Ante-communion is the pro-anaphora, or Service of the Word without the Great Thanksgiving.

<sup>27</sup> It was only with the advent of the South African Prayer Book that "Communion" was officially referred to as "Eucharist".

<sup>28</sup> Hinchliff, *The South African Rite*, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Hinchliff, *The South African Rite*, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with John Suggit.

### A Liturgy for Africa<sup>31</sup>

In April 1961 the African primates agreed to embark on a joint liturgical project which would produce a Eucharistic rite suitable for the whole continent.<sup>32</sup> This was a tall order, since the Provinces of Africa comprise both staunch Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. One of the other directives was to produce a rite which would double as Morning Prayer and a full Communion service. Leslie Brown (then Archbishop of Uganda) was appointed chairperson and liaison person for the project.<sup>33</sup> He had considerable experience in liturgical revision, having previously steered the committees which produced the liturgy for the CSI and the Lambeth 1958 report on liturgical renewal which endorsed the CSI liturgy as a prototype for Anglican revision.<sup>34</sup> However, CSI was entirely Evangelical in its theological underpinning. Africa's diverse theological foundations presented problems to Brown as he prepared the drafts of the liturgy.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, his persistent and consistent work produced a well-rounded rite.

As in the CSI, the *A Liturgy for Africa* was drafted almost entirely via correspondence. Archbishop De Blank was careful to point out at the initial planning meeting for the primates that considerable consultation was necessary for a successful product.<sup>36</sup> There certainly was lively communication regarding the theology of the rite. As it transpired, Brown became the principal architect of the liturgy, much as in CSI. He requested that each Province's liturgical committee comment upon his successive drafts. The South African committee duly produced detailed reports for the Synod of Bishops, which they debated and then sent to Brown. Most of their comments were related to the absence of prayers for the dead and the Eucharist as an offering. It seems that the South African Bishops were never entirely satisfied with the Liturgy, but they did endorse it and commended it for experimental use in the Province once it had been published.<sup>37</sup>

Brown did a fine job as chairperson, negotiating delicate theological territory and a number of difficult people. Considering that the rite was finally published a few months after Vatican II, its tenets follow the *Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy* very closely. No doubt this confirms that the ripples of the Liturgical Movement were widespread. The rite is commendable for its flexibility, a trait of many future Anglican revisions, and for its logical ordo. In particular, Dix's "shape of the

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<sup>31</sup> See Appendix D for the Eucharistic ordo for *A Liturgy for Africa*.

<sup>32</sup> Introduction to *A Liturgy for Africa*.

<sup>33</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 71.

<sup>34</sup> Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 71 - 72.

<sup>35</sup> See Buchanan, *Modern Anglican Liturgies*, 48 - 56.

<sup>36</sup> Buchanan, *Modern Anglican Liturgies*, 50.

<sup>37</sup> Buchanan, *Modern Anglican Liturgies*, 51 - 55.

liturgy" is clearly evident. Some liturgists were critical of Brown for not including any particularly African elements. He was also criticised for not using contemporary language throughout, even though this had been one of the original directives.<sup>38</sup>

A preliminary draft of the liturgy was circulated at the Pan-Anglican Conference 1963 in Toronto where it received much acclaim. Finally, in 1964 the final draft was published and disseminated across the world. Buchanan notes,

*Liturgy for Africa* thus takes its place in history not so much as a popular pan-African or pan-Anglican use, but as the first text which avowedly followed the provision of Lambeth 1958, and as a text which has had its influence not in its own use but in its effect on the [liturgies of] Provinces of East Africa and New Zealand.<sup>39</sup>

Buchanan does not mention the influence of the rite on later liturgical revision in Southern Africa, but it is clear that *A Liturgy for Africa* had an effect on subsequent revisions in the Province. In fact, the roots of the APB Eucharistic ordo are in this rite. A report suggests that the liturgy was not widely used in the Diocese of Cape Town, and probably the Province in general, except for weekday and occasional services.<sup>40</sup>

Neither SAPB nor *A Liturgy for Africa* made significant changes to the BCP 1662 congregational responses and canticles. So it is likely that the musical implications were fairly insignificant. Besides *The Prefaces of the South African Alternative Liturgy Set to Sarum Chant*,<sup>41</sup> there is little existing evidence that music was composed specifically for either rite by South Africans. A letter in *Seek* infers that Walter Swanson had composed an SAPB setting of the Eucharistic responses, but this has unfortunately not survived.<sup>42</sup> From interviews, it seems probable that the Merbecke setting was used extensively in the Diocese of Cape Town.<sup>43</sup> It is likely that much Eucharistic music was imported directly from the Church of England, since a number of Anglican clergy and church musicians immigrated to South Africa from the United Kingdom. Likewise, since there were no major changes to the texts for the offices in SAPB, existing English settings could easily be used.

<sup>38</sup> Buchanan, *Modern Anglican Liturgies*, 51 - 55.

<sup>39</sup> Buchanan, *Modern Anglican Liturgies*, 56.

<sup>40</sup> See *Report of Commission on Liturgical Practices on the Diocese of Cape Town* (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>41</sup> "Alternative" here suggests alternative to the Book of Common Prayer 1662, and not the Alternative Forms 1969. This handwritten set of prefaces may suggest that the canon was intoned to plainsong in parishes. How widespread this practice was, is not known. Certainly, the greeting and *Sursum Corda* were well known throughout the Diocese of Cape Town. See *The Prefaces of the South African Alternative Liturgy* (Anglican Archives AB 2037f).

<sup>42</sup> *Seek* (October 1975), 12.

<sup>43</sup> Interviews with Bishop Christopher Gregorovski and Canon Anthony Gregorovski.

### **Proposed Alternative Forms of the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Holy Communion (1969)**

Following the Lambeth Conference of 1958, the Liturgical Committee suggested a “thoroughgoing reconsideration of the [SAPB] in the light of Resolution no. 75 of the [Conference], with a view to the issue of a revised book in the years to come.”<sup>44</sup> This is an interesting remark since it was only four years after the initial book had been fully revised. Within a matter of years, work had begun on the *A Liturgy for Africa* and no further local liturgical revision was considered necessary. However, by the mid 1960’s, it was apparent that *A Liturgy for Africa* was not being adopted willingly by parishes and that a local modification was necessary.

Having established the need for a contemporary liturgy, the Liturgical Committee was determined to create a product which was reflective of modern New Testament scholarship, a sound theological basis and contemporary trends in the English language. In the introduction to the *Proposed Alternative Forms of the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Holy Communion* (AF), the committee notes that it had “not made changes for the sake of making changes, it believes that the time for mere tinkering with our Prayer Book is now past and that insistent demands for radical liturgical revision can no longer be ignored.”<sup>45</sup> The AF were, however, only interim experimental rites intended for a limited time period of four years. Comments regarding the revision were welcomed and according to Kelly, two hundred such letters were received by the committee.<sup>46</sup> The committee also prepared detailed questionnaires which were sent across the Province.

There were many positive developments in the new liturgy. Kelly summarises them adequately:

First, there was the change of perspective with regard to the Bible. This resulted from modern historical criticism and research, and out of it came a new appreciation and understanding of the liturgical elements in the worship of the church in New Testament times and the early Christian ages. Secondly, there was the contemporary ecumenical outlook. Thirdly, there was the strong reaction to the excessive individualism which had characterised western society since the Middle Ages, and which had resulted in the loss on the part of many satisfying social relations and communal values.<sup>47</sup>

It came as no surprise that Dix’s four-fold Eucharistic pattern was a major influence. In fact, even Rev. Binn’s lengthy criticism of the AF is steeped in Dix’s theories.<sup>48</sup> As a result, the offertory was moved to a new position, just before the blessing of the elements, and a separate fraction was

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<sup>44</sup> Kelly, *Liturgy* 1975, 40.

<sup>45</sup> Kelly, *Liturgy* 1975, 41.

<sup>46</sup> Kelly, *Liturgy* 1975, 45.

<sup>47</sup> Kelly, *Liturgy* 1975, 44.

<sup>48</sup> See Binns, *A Study of the Proposed Alternative Forms of the South African Liturgy* (Anglican Archives AB 727f).

added after the consecration prayer. There are also influences from *Liturgy for Africa* (and ultimately CSI), especially at the beginning of the service: the Gloria followed by the penitential rite. The memorial acclamation in the Eucharistic Prayer is also borrowed from these two liturgies. The Eucharistic Prayer itself is based on the *English Series II*<sup>49</sup> experimental liturgy.

Significantly, modern English was used throughout. Much of the work of revision had been done prior to the formation of the Liturgical Text Consultations described in chapter two. As a consequence, all congregational canticles and responses were appreciably different from previous revisions. This must have caused some initial problems for musical settings of the Eucharist. One of the major problems with the transition to modern English was the phrasing and in particular, the reference to God as 'you', instead of 'thou'. As a result, the committee co-opted Prof. Leonard Lanham, a linguistics expert. His work on the collects was to prove internationally influential.<sup>50</sup>

Canon Rowland, who would later become one of the principal architects of *Liturgy 1975* (L75) and APB, commented that the AF, although they were a milestone in liturgical revision, lacked a sense of mystery. He did concede that all modern rites, even the 1969 Roman Catholic English rite, lacked this sense of mystery. He attributed this to the fact that contemporary theology tended to emphasis the humanness of Christ as opposed to his divinity.<sup>51</sup>

The rite, it seems, was not well received initially. In a private letter to Bishop Phillip of the Diocese of St Johns, Rev Geoffrey Bacon noted, "Among the few who had got round to experimenting with the 'Liturgy for Africa' I find several who preferred it to the Alternative Service put out by our Liturgical Committee, but most seem never to have heard of it. I certainly think that it is still better than the Alternative Offices."<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, just before the release of *Liturgy 1975*, on 29 September 1974, the Parish of Holy Trinity Kalk Bay included an 8am SAPB Holy Communion, a 9:30am *Alternative Form* sung Eucharist and an 11am BCP 1662 Holy Communion.<sup>53</sup> Considering that the 9:30am service was the principal service of the day, where the Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town was the celebrant and preacher, it must have been popular in at least some parishes.

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<sup>49</sup> The Church of England was also producing experimental liturgies for trial use between 1960 and 1980. The *English Series II* was one of these rites. For a detailed history of this rite see chapter eleven in Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy*.

<sup>50</sup> Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy*, 304.

<sup>51</sup> Kelly, *Liturgy 1975*, 47.

<sup>52</sup> Bacon, letter to chairperson of Liturgical Committee, 4 August 1971 (Anglican Archives AB 948/18).

<sup>53</sup> See *Centenary Programme and Historical Sketch*, Holy Trinity Kalk Bay, 29 September 1974 (Anglican Archives AB 875f).



The AF also included a short daily office, called Office II (like *A Liturgy for Africa*, the pro-anaphora could be used as an independent office called Office I). The second office is much shorter and less complex than the first. Whether it was used as an evening office with sung elements is not known.

This liturgy did necessitate musical reforms. The texts for congregation were significantly different from the earlier rites of the Province. Although none of the settings are used today, a few composers did set the congregational responses to music. Presumably, one of these settings was used at Kalk Bay for their centenary celebrations mentioned above.<sup>54</sup> Walter Swanson, a Cape Town composer, in a letter to *Seek* (October 1975) elaborates, "I myself have composed settings for both the Prayer Book [1954?] and the 1969 Liturgy both of which have been frequently performed in my own church of St Saviour, Claremont."<sup>55</sup> Canon Jenkins of Pietermaritzburg, Natal, also composed a setting. He wrote, "Those who have been using, at their own risk, the simple setting which I provided for the 1969 Liturgy (in default of anything else coming up from our church musicians)..."<sup>56</sup> Rev. Bacon (mentioned above) also notes in his letter to Bishop Phillip, "I am getting a tape for you of St Bede's Mass by Caton and am trying to adapt and correct it for 'Office I with Communion'..."<sup>57</sup> Sister Mary Christine had also composed a Eucharistic setting and then adapted it for L75 some years later, but the original 1969 version has been lost. Unfortunately, most of these settings seem to have been used in specific parishes only, as both Swanson's and Jenkins' comments imply. It does appear that high profile church musicians were slow to react to this opportunity. It is likely that since the rite was only provisional, they did not feel the need to compose a setting which would only be used for a short time. Additionally, a number of 'traditional' musicians completely rejected the newer rites, and thus refused to write anything for them.<sup>58</sup>

### Liturgy 1975

Originally, I thought that the most significant changes to South African liturgy had occurred in 1989 with the introduction of APB, and that this was when the most important musical changes had occurred. However, my research has proved otherwise. The Eucharistic rite and Daily Offices developed for trial use in *Liturgy 1975* (L75) were adopted almost without change in APB. Thus, the real liturgical revolution that profoundly affected daily and weekly worship in the Anglican Church of

<sup>54</sup> According to the programme the 9:30am Alternative Form Service was "sung". *Centenary Programme and Historical Sketch*, Holy Trinity Kalk Bay, 29 September 1974 (Anglican Archives AB 875f).

<sup>55</sup> *Seek* (October 1975), 12.

<sup>56</sup> *Seek* (May 1975), 13.

<sup>57</sup> Bacon, letter to the chairperson of the Liturgical Committee, 4 August 1971 (Anglican Archives AB 948/18).

<sup>58</sup> Owen Franklin noted that when he told Roger O'Hogan that he had written a musical setting of the L75 Eucharist, O'Hogan hardly ever spoke to him again. Interview with Owen Franklin.

Southern Africa, occurred not in 1989 as I suspected, but fourteen years earlier. What is more, it appears that the Liturgical Committee considered the musical implications of the revision very seriously.

Although the experimental liturgies described earlier in the chapter had been used by a fair number of parishes across the Province, SAPB was still the favourite among clergy and laity. The principal Sunday service in the majority of parishes in the early 1970's was a 9:30am SAPB Eucharist. This meant that even though modern English and newer liturgical trends had been tentatively introduced through *A Liturgy for Africa* and AF, the majority of lay folk had not yet experienced these changes. And, although L75 continued the logical progression established in the experimental rites, it is substantially different when compared with the SAPB.<sup>59</sup> Thus, for those who had not encountered the experimental rites, L75 was a significant shift in theology and language. In particular, the loss of Cranmerian English seems to have hit a raw nerve with many laity. *Seek*, the South African Anglican newspaper, was besieged during 1975 with letters from lay people across the Province complaining about the newer language.

Of course, it was not only the rites themselves that had changed; seasonal festivals and even the lectionary had been substantially reviewed, resulting in a two-year lectionary cycle. A host of innovations from the Liturgical Movement were introduced, as well as a number of services which were revived by the Roman Catholic Church in the 1950's. Even localisation had begun to influence the revision process. These changes amounted to the "radical liturgical revision" that had been initiated with the AF and now had come to full fruition in L75. In other words, liturgical and theological changes comparable to those of the Reformation were taking place.

The theological background to the rites and offices is particularly impressive. The liturgical committee obviously worked hard to embody the ideals of the *Alternative Forms*, envisaging a rite which was theologically unified, six years previously. According to Bishop Nuttall, "Rowland introduced into the work of the committee the principle and practice of producing a rationale for the liturgical text before producing the text itself. Always the theology and history had to be considered before the liturgy, and therefore a careful memorandum was produced."<sup>60</sup> As the bishop points out, in this case *lex credendi* preceded *lex orandi*. Rowland himself, as his papers in the Anglican Archives show, was a consummate liturgical scholar, versed in the latest scholarship and well-read in ancient texts.<sup>61</sup> Among the papers of the Liturgical Committee for the preparation of L75 is a study

<sup>59</sup> For a comparison of the rites, see Appendix E.

<sup>60</sup> Nuttall, "A River Running Through", 57.

<sup>61</sup> Canon Rowland's papers can be found at the Anglican Archives AB 1959.

document on Eucharistic theology which is wide in scope.<sup>62</sup> The title page of the document gives a summary of “Eucharistic theology today”. It identifies five principal categories: the influence of Old and New Testament studies; new light on early liturgical patterns; a withdrawal from strictly ‘dogmatic’ theology; the influence of the Ecumenical movement; and the growth of Secularism. It is clear that this document was used in preparation for the revision of the rite, since the hallmarks of the theological shifts are apparent throughout the rite. The title “Eucharist” as opposed to “Holy Communion” is an example.

Besides the influence of contemporary theology, evidence of the Liturgical Movement is abundantly clear. There is a significant increase in congregational participation in comparison with SAPB. In addition to the increase in congregational responses, there is a community feel about the rite. The peace greeting and offertory, both introduced in the experimental rites, were retained and provision was made for the participation of lay readers and ministers throughout the rite.<sup>63</sup> The prominence of Scripture is also evident in the *synaxis*.<sup>64</sup> Here the ancient format of Old Testament, Psalm, New Testament, Canticle, Gospel is restored. Musically, this meant that the psalm could be sung (either to Anglican Chant or as a metrical hymn) and that a gradual hymn could be introduced in place of the canticle. In practice, the canticle largely gave way to a short hymn or, more seldom, a setting of the “Alleluia”. Also, the four-fold action, advocated by Dix, is clearly present, with the offertory leading directly to the Eucharistic Prayer, followed by the fraction and communion.<sup>65</sup> Of course, the experimental rites had already introduced these changes, but now they were more carefully refined and rounded.

The combination of Matins with Communion is abandoned in L75 and instead morning and evening are both elaborated versions of Office II in the AF.<sup>66</sup> The rather abrupt opening of the 1969 office is replaced with an acknowledgement of the Holy Trinity, followed by a versicle<sup>67</sup> and the lesser doxology.<sup>68</sup> Additionally, each office was assigned two readings with companion canticles – an addition to the *Alternative Form* Office II. Perhaps the most controversial change in the L75 offices

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<sup>62</sup> The study document includes contemporary theological statements: An Agreed Statement on Eucharistic Doctrine (ARCIC, 1972); A Plan of Union (Church Unity Commission, SA August 1975) and the study documents attached to this “plan”; Resumé of the Emerging Ecumenical Consensus on the Eucharist (Faith and Order, WCC, 1971); and An Approach to the Theology of the Sacraments (N Clarke). See *Documentation of the Eucharist* (Anglican Archives AB 948/21).

<sup>63</sup> L75, 128 - 29.

<sup>64</sup> L75, 121.

<sup>65</sup> L75, 128 - 36.

<sup>66</sup> For comparisons of the revisions of the offices see Appendices F and G.

<sup>67</sup> The versicle appears to be a remnant of the antiphon for the *Venite* or Psalm 134 which has been divorced from the psalm.

<sup>68</sup> L75, 153 & 160.

was the placing of the *Magnificat* which now appeared in the morning rather than in its traditional place in the evening.<sup>69</sup> One of the excellent features of the evening office is the rotational set of canticles, of which there are twenty-one to choose from. The Liturgical Committee appointed a sub-committee to deal exclusively with the canticles in modern English. According to the minutes of one of their meetings, it was decided “that appropriate Office Hymns may be substituted for the variable cantic. This will probably best be indicated by a general rubric...”<sup>70</sup> Although allowance is made for the cantic to be replaced by a hymn in the Eucharist, the same is not offered for the offices in the general rubrics of L75. The second set of prayers after the sermon is given full expression in L75, as opposed to the SAPB where a simple rubric indicates that additional prayers may be offered.<sup>71</sup> The L75 offices are fairly flexible, but tend to be slightly complicated to follow from beginning to end without prior study.<sup>72</sup>

John Rowland’s enthusiastic work on the Easter cycle ensured the reintroduction of services which had been banned officially in the Anglican Church since 1548.<sup>73</sup> Under his guidance the Liturgical Committee produced a supplementary booklet for L75 called *Ash Wednesday to Easter* in 1979.<sup>74</sup> It completely revolutionised the celebration of Lent and Easter in parishes all over the Province. The beauty of the services certainly endeared them to the laity. Rowland said,

Not so many years ago, to use these services was to court suspicion: one was considered to be ‘High Church’. Happily such distinctions have now largely disappeared. Moreover those responsible for this present production have tried to make them more acceptable to as wide a range of churchmanship as possible. If they are ‘catholic’ in appearance, they are markedly ‘evangelical’ in content.<sup>75</sup>

That being said, the main source for the services was the Roman Catholic English Missal - although the committee did acknowledge that certain alterations were made.<sup>76</sup> The Imposition of Ashes was reintroduced on Ash Wednesday and the Easter Triduum was given special prominence. Here the services of the Institution of the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday, the Liturgy of the Day on Good Friday and the Vigil Service (with renewal of Baptismal vows) on Easter Day are of special importance. These services all have particular musical potential. For example, the reproaches (from

<sup>69</sup> L75, 155.

<sup>70</sup> *Sub-committee on Canticles (3<sup>rd</sup> Circular), December, 1972* (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>71</sup> L75, 157 - 59 & 164 - 65.

<sup>72</sup> For a comparison of the the offices in the different Prayer Books in Southern Africa see Appendix F and G.

<sup>73</sup> Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 60.

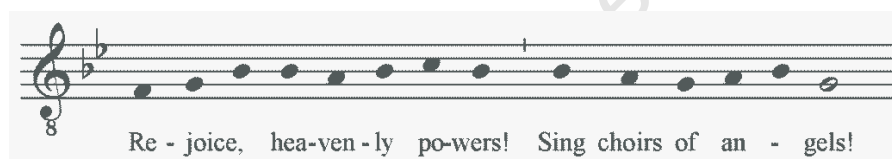
<sup>74</sup> A companion guide book was published soon after the release of *Ash Wednesday to Easter*, entitled *The Light of Christ* (Rowland - 1979). It was re-published in 2007. Both *Ash Wednesday to Easter* and *The Light of Christ* were preceded by *Services for Ash Wednesday and Holy Week* (published by SPCK) for use with SAPB. Interview with Canon Ian Darby.

<sup>75</sup> Rowland, *The Light of Christ*, 4.

<sup>76</sup> *Ash Wednesday to Easter (English)*, ii.

the Liturgy for Good Friday) were traditionally sung in the ancient church. Some congregations in South Africa had simple plainchant versions of this prayer, which indicates that at least a few congregations or choirs were singing them. Another important sung section is the *Exultet* in the Easter Vigil. The original plainsong version, translated and adapted by Dom Murray, seems to have been used fairly widely throughout the Province (see example 1). Surprisingly, no local settings of these and other texts for the Triduum have come to light during my research. However, *The Light of Christ: A Handbook for use with the Service of Ash Wednesday to Easter* by Roland devotes a brief appendix note concerning appropriate music for each of the services. He recommends a book entitled *Music for Holy Week and Easter* (ed. Harold Winstone [Mayhew-McCrimmon]), as well as settings by Vittoria for certain sections.<sup>77</sup> In other words, it is a selection of plainsong and Renaissance polyphony since medieval polyphony was hardly a viable option for most local choirs. He also gives recommendations for appropriate hymnody and a number of options for reciting (or chanting) the Gospel Passions.<sup>78</sup>

Example 1: Extract from the opening of the Exultet<sup>79</sup>



## Africanisation

In 1973 Provincial Synod tabled this resolution:

In view of the fact that the South African Prayer Book, the Alternative Forms of Worship of 1969 and Liturgy 73 represent approaches to worship rooted in a culture alien to the blacks, this Provincial Synod requests the Synod of Bishops to appoint suitable persons to stimulate liturgical experimentation in Black parishes and to report any findings or results to the next Provincial Synod.<sup>80</sup>

Soon afterwards the Liturgical Committee commissioned a sub-committee to address African needs.

Creating a suitable sub-committee proved difficult as, "All persons, save one, invited by the Archbishop refused to serve."<sup>81</sup> One clergyman who had been approached asked, "A lot of work had been done by the Provincial Liturgical Committee, what need then of reworking this Liturgy?"<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Rowland, *The Light of Christ*, 57.

<sup>78</sup> See Rowland, *The Light of Christ*, 57 -58.

<sup>79</sup> *Exultet*.

<sup>80</sup> Dlamini, *Report on Africanisation of the Liturgy* (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>81</sup> Dlamini, *Report on Africanisation of the Liturgy* (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>82</sup> Dlamini, *Report on Africanisation of the Liturgy* (Anglican Archives AB 948).

Nonetheless, a committee was constituted with the Ven. D P S Dlamini as chairman and convenor and Rev. A N Mpunzi as secretary. They produced a report which claimed that attendance at the meetings was poor and official recognition was proving difficult. One of the first comments in the report is telling: “It was felt that this commission should have been elected to do the job before the Liturgical Committee did the new Liturgy 1975”.<sup>83</sup> Also the committee felt that it had not been given a clear mandate. So they decided to review L75 and Africanise it where possible. No major changes were recommended, but suggestions regarding posture and music were freely included. The recommendations of the report are:

1. That both simplicity and dignity of worship should be encouraged.
2. That all the regidity (sic) in the service should be removed.
3. That both informality and spontaneity should be encouraged.
4. That movements of limbs and echoes should be allowed.
5. We recommend that the Provincial Liturgical Committee should take over all the activities of the Africanization (sic) Committee to overcome all the difficulties encountered by this Committee.<sup>84</sup>

Musically, they offered a number of important suggestions. The committee wrote to several composers asking them to consider writing settings of the newer texts. It is not known whether any of them replied, since at the time that the report was tabled no replies had been received. A detailed list of recommendations attached to the minutes of one of the meetings of the Africanisation Committee recommends much extemporary prayer and singing.<sup>85</sup>

The committee also worked on a set of responsorial prayers which were included in the Eucharistic rite of L75. Canon Rowland commented, “The body of which he [Dlamini] was chairman certainly influenced the revision and produced Prayer C – though I suspect that it was his work.”<sup>86</sup>

It is fairly clear that L75 presented significant liturgical reforms to the laity. Having studied the Liturgical Committee’s minutes and papers, the author found that they were well aware of the implications of the reforms for church music, particularly in the Eucharist. When considering the modern translation of the lesser doxology, for example, the committee consulted a team of musicians to discern which translation would suit musical settings best. The team comprised Barry Smith, Sister Mary Christine, Roger O’Hogan and Robert Selly.<sup>87</sup> Later, while promotional material was being assembled for the release of L75, the minutes of the Liturgical Committee note that Barry

<sup>83</sup> Minutes of the Africanisation of the Liturgy Sub-committee (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>84</sup> Dlamini, *Report on Africanisation of the Liturgy* (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>85</sup> Minutes of the Africanisation of the Liturgy Sub-committee (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>86</sup> Kelly, *Liturgy 1975*, 53.

<sup>87</sup> Minutes of the Liturgical Committee, 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> February 1974, point 4.4.4.3.

Smith was asked to provide “a tape recording of the Liturgy 1975 using a musical setting within the reach of the average parish choir...”<sup>88</sup> This was duly done, although subsequent minutes record that the recording was not of the best quality.<sup>89</sup> In November 1974, on the eve of L75’s debut, the “Liturgical Committee [requested] the Synod of Bishops to set up a Musical Sub-committee...” It comprised the Bishop of Johannesburg, Barry Smith, Sister Mary Christine CSMV and Fr. Michael Maasdorp and was constituted:

To survey existing [Eucharistic] settings:  
To advise the Province of their suitability:  
To provide either amendments to existing settings, or new settings if we deem these necessary.<sup>90</sup>

The sub-committee completed an extensive survey of settings, but decided it could not fulfil the third requirement. It recommended that local composers be encouraged to write settings for their congregations.

Although the rubrics of L75 allow the use of musical settings of the BCP 1662 and SAPB congregational texts,<sup>91</sup> the sub-committee said, “...it would seem appropriate and desirable that what is a new ethos and emphasis in Liturgy 1975 receives new musical expression which accords with it.”<sup>92</sup> L75 made use of ICET texts almost without amendment and many other churches, from all denominations, were including them too. As a result, musical settings of these texts were easily transferable from Province to Province and Church to Church. The sub-committee reviewed nineteen settings, all written for the English Series III<sup>93</sup> experimental liturgy. Only two years earlier in January 1973, Canon Rowland wrote to the Liturgical Committee, “I have just received a letter from Canon Jasper saying that a new edition of Series 3 will soon be available ‘with a congregational setting intended to replace the old Merbecke. The music has been done by the organists of St Paul’s and Canterbury.’”<sup>94</sup> It is remarkable how many settings had appeared in the space of just over two years to replace the old BCP versions. In 1975 only one South African setting was known to the sub-committee: Sister Mary Christine’s version of the 1969 texts which had been adapted to fit L75 (see

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<sup>88</sup> Minutes of the Liturgical Committee, 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> February 1974, point 6.2.

<sup>89</sup> Minutes of the Liturgical Committee, 17 – 19 June 1975, point 4.2.2.

<sup>90</sup> *Report of the Music Sub-committee of the Liturgical Committee of the CPSA*, 15 February 1975, point 2 (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>91</sup> See *Liturgy 1975*, rubric 6, 116.

<sup>92</sup> *Report of the Music Sub-committee of the Liturgical Committee of the CPSA*, point 8 (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>93</sup> Series III was the third set of liturgical revisions for the Church of England. It was first released in the early 1970’s. For a full history of Series III see chapter fourteen in Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy*.

<sup>94</sup> Roland, letter to the Liturgical Committee, 22 January 1973 (Anglican Archives AB 948).

example 2). It was commended for official publication. The sub-committee's findings were published in *Seek* in July 1975. A note at the end of the sub-committee's minutes says, "Since the meeting... the Convenor has heard that the setting by Canon D. Jenkins... for the 1969 Experimental Liturgy... is to be revised for Liturgy 1975."<sup>95</sup> This was advertised in a letter to *Seek* in May 1975 (see example 3).<sup>96</sup>

Example 2: *Kyrie* from *Liturgy 1975: A Musical Setting for the Holy Eucharist* by Sister Mary Christine<sup>97</sup>

The musical score for Example 2 is a Kyrie setting. It is written in 3/4 time and features three parts: Congregation, Priest, and a solo voice. The lyrics are 'Lord, have mercy', 'Christ, have mercy', and 'Lord, have mercy'. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. The Congregation part is in the soprano register, the Priest part is in the alto register, and the solo voice part is in the bass register. The lyrics are: 'Lord, have mercy', 'Christ, have mercy', and 'Lord, have mercy'.

Example 3: *Kyrie* from *Liturgy 1975* by Canon Jenkins<sup>98</sup>

The musical score for Example 3 is a Kyrie setting. It is written in 3/4 time and features three parts: Lord, Christ, and Lord. The lyrics are 'Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy'. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. The Lord part is in the soprano register, the Christ part is in the alto register, and the Lord part is in the bass register. The lyrics are: 'Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy'.

In the August 1975 edition of *Seek*, further extracts from the sub-committee's report were published. One point in particular sparked a flourish of activity: "Those who have a mind to compose should certainly be encouraged to try their hand at writing music for Liturgy 1975, even if... the CPSA

<sup>95</sup> *Report of the Music Sub-committee of the Liturgical Committee of the CPSA*, point 10 (Anglican Archives AB 948).

<sup>96</sup> *Seek* (May 1975), 13.

<sup>97</sup> Christine, *Liturgy 1975*.

<sup>98</sup> Jenkins, *Liturgy 1975*.



Department of Publishing cannot publish every setting.”<sup>99</sup> The following month Rev. Owen Franklin advertised his new setting, dedicated to the parish of St Paul’s in Durban.<sup>100</sup> This Mass, in particular, has enjoyed much success across the Province, and is still sung in many parishes today. Not long afterwards, Walter Swanson wrote, “For the ’75 Liturgy which we have recently started to use, I have written a melodically simple though harmonically more sophisticated setting” - see example 4.<sup>101</sup> He also notes, “While recently adjudicating the composition section of the Cape Town Eisteddfod, I found one entry which consisted of a complete new Mass setting by a professional musician whom I afterwards discovered to be... Clarence Gibbins.”<sup>102</sup> Individual composers were further encouraged by another endeavour: in the early 1980’s the Kimberley sub-branch of the North Branch of the RSCM sponsored a three-part composition competition over three years for Eucharistic settings of L75. The first component called for unison settings, the second for suitable arrangements for choir and congregation, and the third for four-part choir compositions. A report of the sub-branch’s activities revealed that,

There was considerable interest shown in the first phase, and several entries were received. The second and third phases yielded very disappointing results, and although some works show some promise, nothing worthy of publication was submitted.<sup>103</sup>

New settings continued to appear through the 1980’s. In 1985 Rev. J M Futter wrote to the Liturgical Committee on behalf of his organist Eric Moir. His letter requests permission to use L75’s congregational texts in Moir’s “A Mass for the Saints” which was intended for local use (see example 5).<sup>104</sup> As late as 1988, Rev Owen Franklin had produced an Afrikaans setting which won acclaim.<sup>105</sup> All was not excitement and joy, however. An anonymous editorial in *Seek* scathingly noted, “Having looked at a few of these local products [Mass settings], I can only say that they are almost without exception trite, cliché-ridden and, in more than one case, downright musically ungrammatical.”<sup>106</sup> To be fair, a number of the overseas settings reviewed as acceptable by the sub-committee fall into the same category.

Example 4: Extract from *Kyrie* from *Liturgy 1975* by Walter Swanson<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *Seek* (August 1975), 2.

<sup>100</sup> *Seek* (September 1975), 11.

<sup>101</sup> *Seek* (October 1975), 12.

<sup>102</sup> *Seek* (October 1975), 12. I have not been able to find a copy of this setting.

<sup>103</sup> *Report of Kimberly Sub-committee*, March 1982 – June ’83 (RSCM Archives).

<sup>104</sup> Futter, letter to Liturgical Committee, 12 July 1985. “A Mass for the Saints” is attached to the letter (Anglican Archives AB 2301/15).

<sup>105</sup> *Seek* (April 1988) 9.

<sup>106</sup> *Seek* (October 1975) 4.

<sup>107</sup> Swanson, *Liturgy 1975*.

Example 5: Kyrie from *A Mass for the Saints* by Eric Moir<sup>108</sup>

Example 5: Kyrie from *A Mass for the Saints* by Eric Moir<sup>108</sup>

Besides music for the Eucharist, there were other changes associated with liturgical renewal. In June 1984, Dr Lionel Dakers (then director of the Royal School of Church Music), visited South Africa and addressed several clergy gatherings. He encouraged clergy to use new hymns, psalm settings and Eucharistic responses. Among other things he recommended that choirs be moved to the back of the

<sup>108</sup> Moir, *A Mass for the Saints*.

church to ensure that they, “remained part of the congregation...”<sup>109</sup> This must be considered a particularly clear symbolic move towards *koinoniac* worship. And, in fact, the dearth of choral settings of the Eucharist in South Africa may confirm that exclusively chorally led worship was already fairly limited.

Choral settings for the new canticles of the morning and evening offices were not forthcoming. In general it appears that the canticles were chanted to Anglican chant week by week in most parishes. The canticles had all been pointed for Anglican chant in L75. Mr Robert Selly, organist at St Mary's Collegiate Church in Port Elizabeth, had been asked to point all the canticles which were not originally from Anglican sources.<sup>110</sup> Since the South African versions of the canticles were not all from ICET, the same cross-fertilization of musical settings was not possible, as had been the case in the Eucharist. By and large, the older versions of musical settings of canticles (all designed for BCP 1662 or SAPB) were used in morning and evening prayer when they were sung to a fully composed setting.

It is to the credit of the Liturgical Committee that consideration was given to matters musical. However, a continuing standing committee for music in the liturgy has never been constituted. This undoubtedly would have enriched and guided the musical life of the Province to a greater extent. Lack of musical guidance and education for clergy, in particular, has been a great failing of the Church since the introduction of L75.

### **An Anglican Prayer Book 1989**

The work done on the production of L75 paved the way for APB. Due to the great success of L75, it was decided to keep any changes to the Eucharist and Daily Offices to a minimum. Ronald Taylor notes,

The service for *The Holy Eucharist* in APB is therefore simply a more polished version of that in L75. During the period from 1975 – 1989 amendments to the Eucharistic liturgy were kept to a minimum because the results of a great deal of ‘market research’ had already been taken into account, both in preparation for L75 and in the follow-up to its publication. L75 had already achieved widespread acceptance throughout our Church, so where changes were made in APB they had been carefully considered and had been reckoned important enough to be included.<sup>111</sup>

The main work of the committee was to produce new material. This included initiation and penitential rites, wedding and funeral services, rites for ministry to the sick and the ordinal. Other

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<sup>109</sup> *Seek* (July 1984) 5.

<sup>110</sup> Minutes of the Liturgical Committee meeting 5<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> May 1973, point 2.3.

<sup>111</sup> Taylor, *He Took, Blessed, Broke and Gave*, 8.

important aspects such as the catechism had to be considered.<sup>112</sup> Also the publication of the *Common Lectionary* necessitated changes to the calendar and some of the collects. Taylor, discussing the guidelines for the revision of material for APB, says,

They concerned among other things:

- The need to encourage lay participation
- The use of contemporary English capable of translation into the eight languages used in our Province
- Lay responses were not to be altered unnecessarily
- Gender specific language was to be avoided wherever possible
- Overseas and ecumenical resources were to be used so that we should remain in step with world-wide developments in Christian liturgy
- There had to be a balance between fixed order and liberty of choice
- Every text had to have been tried out in a number of representative parishes before being included.<sup>113</sup>

Indeed, a number of these ideals echo the principles of the Liturgical Movement. The experimental rites had already introduced the concept of modern English, and thus, it was not a major step to adapt and modify other newer services such as the wedding ceremony. Bishop Nuttall comments, "A further issue involving language in liturgy does not affect the vernacular languages,<sup>114</sup> but deeply affects the English usage. This is the issue of gender-inclusive language, which was entered firmly onto the CPSA's agenda for the first time during the period of liturgical revision after the publication of *Liturgy 1975*."<sup>115</sup> However, the version of the Psalter included in the prayer book is not inclusive. A newer Psalter has since been released and was offered free of charge to parishes. Bishop Nuttall notes that the committee did not "tamper" with the masculinity of God, "... this aspect of the gender-inclusive debate was hardly topical in the CPSA before 1990."<sup>116</sup> Subsequent publications, such as *Praying at Home*, have addressed this issue.

In its continuing work, the committee was able to draw on a number of completed prayer books from around the world, including those from America, Britain, Australia and Canada, when formulating APB.<sup>117</sup> On the ecumenical front, conferences, such as those organised by *Societas*

<sup>112</sup> The committee decided to adopt the catechism used in the *American Book of Common Prayer 1979*, with certain alternations and additions, most notably the section on angels and demons.

<sup>113</sup> Taylor, *He Took, Blessed, Broke and Gave*, 8.

<sup>114</sup> African languages do not have gender specific pronouns.

<sup>115</sup> Nuttall, "A River Running Through", 59.

<sup>116</sup> Nuttall, "A River Running Through", 60.

<sup>117</sup> APB, 794 - 95.

*Liturgicae*, had a marked effect on newer rites in APB.<sup>118</sup> Also, the IALC conference on baptism (held in 1985) appears to have had a clear impact on the initiation services.

There are a few unique attributes of APB which are striking. The first is the Baptismal Creed, which the Provincial liturgical committee derived from the allegiance questions at the service of baptism and confirmation.<sup>119</sup> This creed may be used at the offices, but is often used at parish Eucharist services. John Suggit has suggested that the Baptismal creed is most relevant for contemporary society. He advocates its use at the Eucharist.<sup>120</sup> Form C of the prayers is also specific to the Province. It was originally written in Xhosa and then translated into English for L75. This is a clear example of localisation. The prefaces at the beginning of each section are another striking feature. They are short theological statements to introduce each rite. "The prefaces, written by a number of different people, sought to express the essence of the rationales, and to do so in a way that would both inform and inspire the reader."<sup>121</sup>

Apartheid raged while all of these revisions were being undertaken, and the impact of liturgical renewal would force the local church to be more community-orientated, namely to address the concept of race relations head on. Unfortunately, by the time experimental liturgies had been introduced, many of the congregations in ACSA were already racially segregated. In more recent years, the community aspect of liturgy has been a catalyst for racial integration. Obviously, the scourge of apartheid was very much on the minds of the liturgical reformers. The general preface alludes to this,

The same period [twenty years] has been a crucial one for human relations in our subcontinent, with the Church, in spite of its own inadequacy and sinfulness, lifted into a prophetic and pastoral witness to both the perpetrators and the victims of ideology, conflict and violence.<sup>122</sup>

In particular, the "Prayers and Thanksgivings for Various Occasions" section includes a number of telling petitions which must have spoken directly to apartheid: For Responsible Citizenship; In Times of Conflict; For Our Enemies; For Those who Suffer for the Sake of Conscience; and For the Oppressed.<sup>123</sup> But, Torquil Paterson, a local theologian, wondered if there was enough of a

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<sup>118</sup> Interview with Keith Griffiths.

<sup>119</sup> The original allegiance questions at the baptism service were created for the 1967 *Alternative Services Second Series Baptism and Confirmation*. They were updated in 1973 for the *Series 3 Initiation Services* and an additional congregational response was added at the conclusion. This form was adopted for APB and the Baptismal Creed was derived directly from it. Interview with Canon Ian Darby.

<sup>120</sup> Suggit, *The Simplicity of God*, 10.

<sup>121</sup> Nuttall, "A River Running Through", 57.

<sup>122</sup> See APB, 9.

<sup>123</sup> See APB, 86 - 88.

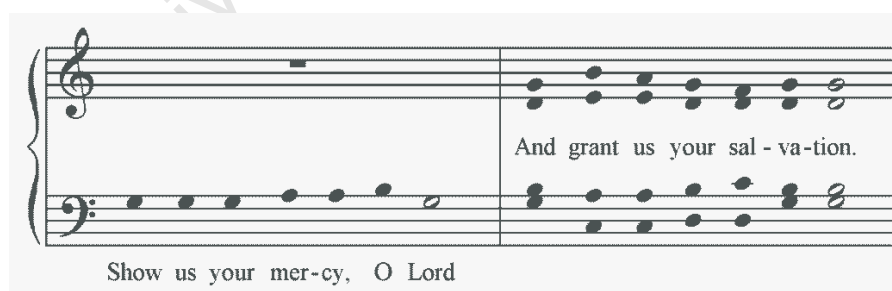
liberation spirit embodied in L75 and consequently APB.<sup>124</sup> Besides the obvious prayers, it is difficult to assess the impact of apartheid on liturgy in APB. In *Services for Parish Use 1993*, a litany for social justice was included.<sup>125</sup> Undoubtedly this is a comment on contemporary South African society, but in 1993 was it not a little too late?

Perhaps the most commendable attribute of APB is its theological comprehensiveness. As Bishop Nuttall noted,

In [the] process [of experimentation] comment was invited from within the worshipping community, and many representations were made to the liturgical committee from laity and clergy alike. That is one reason why APB accommodates a variety of emphases – evangelical, catholic, charismatic, liberal – within its pages. This can be seen particularly in the Eucharistic prayers, where as many as five are provided, each essentially the same but also containing its own theological nuance or flavour. Some prefer to use one or other form exclusively; others ring the changes happily because their theology is capable of covering a wide range.<sup>126</sup>

The musical implications of the texts contained in APB are fairly minimal. The Eucharistic congregational responses remained virtually unchanged from L75. In the Daily Offices, the second set of preces and responses (Show us your mercy, O Lord...) were reincorporated. A number of church musicians set these texts for parish use. Two fairly well known sets are those of Richard Cock and Owen Franklin (see example 6). The inclusion of “Hail gladdening Light” at Evening Prayer has not garnered any new local settings, the version from the Ancient and Modern hymn book (by John Stainer) being preferred. The incorporation of the hymn *Veni Creator* into the confirmation and ordination<sup>127</sup> services, has encouraged the use of plainsong in parishes that would not otherwise sing such music.

Example 6: Owen Franklin’s setting of the Preces and Responses (first petition from the second set)<sup>128</sup>



<sup>124</sup> See Paterson, “A Liturgy for Liberation”.

<sup>125</sup> See *Services for Parish Use 1993*, 105.

<sup>126</sup> Nuttall, “A River Running Through”, 61.

<sup>127</sup> See APB, 375, 392, 585, 590 and 600.

<sup>128</sup> Franklin, *Versicles and Responses for use with Morning and Evening Prayer*.

### Liturgical developments since *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*

There has been a rich offering of newer liturgical material since APB. *Services for Parish Use 1993* included many shorter services in connection with licensing of lay ministers and church council members. Significantly it includes orders of service for both Advent and Christmas Carol services.<sup>129</sup> For the Advent Service the rubrics note, "Advent hymns, not Christmas hymns, should be chosen. Choir items may be introduced: where there is a good choir, the Advent Anthems... may be sung."<sup>130</sup> In essence the Advent service follows the King's College Advent Procession, with some structural changes, for example Advent Anthems<sup>131</sup> are included after each reading. The Christmas Carol Service includes all the traditional lessons from the King's College "Nine Lessons and Carols" and an additional three, but the rubrics do not specify the number of lessons to be used.

Spinks has said "... the Anglican Church has been a prime mover in ecumenical debate and co-operation. Already some Provinces have authorised for use Eucharistic prayers which have been ecumenically compiled."<sup>132</sup> In South Africa, *Unity in Worship 1996* was a collaborative ecumenical publication which included input from Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational liturgists. There are eight orders of service. The first three are seasonal Eucharistic Liturgies for Christmas, Lent and "Easter to Pentecost".<sup>133</sup> This seasonal character ensures that the church year is celebrated with appropriate liturgical emphases. There are three additional services of "Word and Sacrament" for ordinary times of the year.<sup>134</sup> These services are fairly flexible, and the last rite for "Word and Sacrament" allows extensive freedom - to the extent that the service of the Word is summed up in six short rubrics.<sup>135</sup> There is an order for "Baptism and Confirmation" and a service exclusively for infant baptism.<sup>136</sup> Presumably in the Confirmation service "presiding minister" refers to "bishop" for Anglicans. The final order is "The Induction of a Minister".<sup>137</sup> The rites are heavily influenced by the Liturgical Movement and would be readily recognisable in the contemporary Anglican context. They were authorised for Provincial use by the Synod of Bishops in 1996. There are no major textual changes which would necessitate musical change. In fact, the congregational

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<sup>129</sup> *Services for Parish Use 1993*, 71 and 77.

<sup>130</sup> *Services for Parish Use 1993*, 71.

<sup>131</sup> The Advent Anthems are a set of antiphons for the *Magnificat*, usually sung on each of the seven days before Christmas. See APB, 68 - 69.

<sup>132</sup> Spinks, "The Eucharistic Prayer", 100.

<sup>133</sup> See *Unity in Worship*, 1 - 29.

<sup>134</sup> See *Unity in Worship*, 30 - 48.

<sup>135</sup> See *Unity in Worship*, 47.

<sup>136</sup> See *Unity in Worship*, 49 - 72.

<sup>137</sup> See *Unity in Worship*, 73 - 87.

responses mostly follow ICET texts. The liturgists wisely added rubrics suggesting suitable places for hymns. These rites have not been widely used in the Province.

In the mid 1990's, when Christian communities asked for forgiveness for their part in apartheid, during the TRC hearings, several churches pledged to address contextual issues in their liturgy.<sup>138</sup> The Anglican Church has faithfully sought to represent these issues in liturgy since then. As a result, publications have appeared such as *HIV/AIDS in Worship* (which includes congregational prayers and a Eucharistic Prayer focussing on the challenges of HIV/AIDS), *Season of Creation* (a six week series addressing creational stewardship) and a *Worship Resource Manual*. The *Worship Resource Manual* is a comprehensive liturgical guide with permitted changes for the APB calendar, a number of seasonal Eucharistic Prayers, revisions to existing APB services, litanies and pastoral rites (including a liturgy for recognising the closure of a marriage). None of these newer resources have affected parish music to any recognisable extent, largely because the congregational responses have remained consistent with APB. *Season of Creation* does include thirteen newly-written hymns by Norman Habel and a list of suitable hymns and anthems from Anglican sources, which will be discussed later in chapter eight.

### Summary

This chapter has shown the rich liturgical heritage which ACSA has inherited and developed. In particular it shows how South African liturgists have sought to renew the liturgy to suit contemporary theological developments. South African church musicians have responded to these changes in a myriad ways, mostly by composing simple congregational settings of the Eucharist. Music for the offices has been less forthcoming, but this accords with the decline in usage across the Province. These trends show a gradual movement towards *koinoniac* worship, where the choir and congregation tend to sing together most of the time, rather than the choir leading the liturgy exclusively. An emphasis on community life has been a central tenet of the Liturgical Movement, so the shift towards *koinoniac* worship is not surprising.

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<sup>138</sup>de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 227.





## Part 3

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## Chapter Six

# The Theological Perspectives of Music in South Africa's Anglican Prayer Books

The interpretation of the rubrics of the liturgy in terms of how each text was to be delivered and what ritual would accompany it, in the absence of detailed instructions, depended on received custom and on the participants.<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Prayer book rubrics govern ceremonial, gesture, ornamentation and music in a given enactment of the liturgy. Typically, these instructions are printed in a different font from the texts of the prayers themselves. In the Medieval era they were written with red ink, hence, *rubrics*. In modern Anglican prayer books a set of “general rubrics” is often printed before the service itself with more specific ones appearing in the text.

The rubrics for the BCP 1662 and the SAPB are printed in italics. Each rubric in the BCP is marked with a paragraph sign (¶) and slightly indented. In the SAPB they are simply printed in a smaller font. In APB, the rubrics are printed in a different font altogether from the texts of the services (Sans Serif as opposed to Serif) and are clearly visible.

While rubrics are simply instructions, they give clues to the theological underpinning of the rites they govern. Musically, the rubrics show which role of music is implied at any given time during a rite. Sometimes they are quite explicit, e.g. “... the priests and clerks shall sing...” which implies that congregational participation is not expected (*kerygmatic*). Other times they are more general, e.g. “A hymn may be sung”. Depending on the context, this could mean that a congregational hymn is envisaged, or that a monastic choir should sing as part of an office. In general, each prayer book has a particular musical stance, where the rubrics appear to favour either *kerygmatic*, *koinonic* or *leiturgical* music-making.

This chapter investigates the three official prayer books of ACSA, determining in each case which musical theology is most common throughout.

### Book of Common Prayer 1662<sup>2</sup>

Music does not seem to have been a priority for the architects of BCP 1662. Throughout the book there are only twenty-four references to musical performance, usually in the form “said or sung” (or *vice versa*). The intention seems to have been clarity rather than musical embellishment. For

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<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> All the musical rubrics from BCP 1662, SAPB and APB are listed in Appendix H.

example, the phrase “...the minister shall read with a loud voice...” appears fairly consistently, whereas previously most of the priest’s parts would have been intoned.

There appears to be little continuity concerning the rubrics themselves. For example, in the Office of Morning Prayer they direct that the Apostles’ Creed should be “sung or said” and at Evening Prayer the same Creed should be “said or sung”.<sup>3</sup> Why the difference? And does this mean anything? Could it simply have been an oversight of the editors? Or was it preferable to say the Creed in the evening? Louis Weil, commenting on the American Book of Common Prayer 1979, said, “When we read ‘sung or said’ in the rubrics, we are being told that singing is preferred; in the language of rubrics, the preferred choice is given first.”<sup>4</sup> This refers to a modern prayer book, but were the intentions the same for the 1662 revisers, or Archbishop Cranmer himself who had almost single-handedly created BCP 1552?

It is well known that Cranmer was lax when it came to rubrics. He was more concerned with translating and composing prayers and liturgies in the vernacular than directing their exact performance. Nevertheless, the rubrics clearly allow musical renditions of the Ordinary in the Communion Service, although much less singing was catered for in comparison with the BCP 1549. Three musical rubrics recommend that the Nicene Creed, *Sanctus* and *Gloria* should be “**sung** or said” (emphasis is the author’s). This would appear to give the impression that a sung, rather than said, service was desirable. Further on in the book, during the Ordering of Deacons and Priests, the rubrics recommend a “sung or said” Communion Service. Certainly, clergy and musicians alike have interpreted these as meaning, “sing the service”. At cathedrals and colleges in particular, intricate settings of the Ordinary were composed for the choir.

The ambivalent attitude towards musical settings extends to the psalms. Only the psalms at Evening Prayer are directed to be “sung or said”, but nothing is clearly stated concerning those at Morning Prayer. Space is given for an anthem at both offices. The famous rubric “In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem” is found just after the collects. Also the *Quicumque Vult* (Athanasian Creed) and the Litany are directed to be “sung or said”.

The burial service gives the clearest indications about choral singing, directing that the “Priest may say or the Priest and Clerkes shall sing” portions of the service. Again, the psalms are not specifically directed to be “said or sung”. Presumably this was left to the discretion of the priest and/or musician.

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<sup>3</sup> The BPC 1662 does not include page numbers for the liturgical rites, direct citation cannot be made.

<sup>4</sup> Weil, Louis. “Community”, 8.

The traditional hymn to the Holy Spirit, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, translated into English, is found in both the ordering of Priests and Bishops. Here the Bishop who is in charge of the service is directed to sing one line of the hymn, while the congregation responds with the following line, in responsorial fashion. No tune was recommended.

The placement of hymns other than *Veni, Creator Spiritus* is not specified anywhere in the book. Elizabeth I's injunction had allowed a hymn to be sung before and after the service,<sup>5</sup> and presumably this was a fairly widespread practice. Since this was taken for granted, the rubrics did not specifically mention them. However, even during Elizabeth I's reign, a tradition developed where a hymn or metrical psalm was sung before the sermon.<sup>6</sup> This was not mentioned in the rubrics at any time.

Originally (thinking of BCP 1552 on which BCP 1662 is based) the liturgical rites were designed to be understood by ordinary people - before the Reformation worshippers simply watched what was happening, often oblivious to the meaning of the liturgical event. Therefore, vernacular worship in itself implied that congregations were able to participate by understanding what was happening. This was a major breakthrough in the sixteenth century. But by 1662 vernacular worship was well entrenched, and this form of participation was no longer a novelty. In fact, contemporary accounts show that the congregation did not actively participate, except in the singing of psalms. The rubrics which do permit singing are almost certainly directed at parish clerks or cathedral choirs (both of whom sang on behalf of the congregation). And without Elizabeth's injunction regarding singing before and after services, congregational music was non-existent within BCP 1662. We also know that Cranmer himself was somewhat weary of congregational singing (see chapter three). Thus, officially at least, BCP 1662 leans towards *kerygmatic* music making within services.

But since BCP was used at both cathedrals and parishes with widely differing musical and theological traditions, interpretation of the rubrics was widely divergent. While the original intent of introducing a prayer book to the English realm was to effect religious uniformity, in reality, worship was anything but uniform. This phenomenon of diversity within general unity has characterised Anglican worship across the world. Chapter three has demonstrated how widely BCP 1662 was interpreted in terms of music. In English cathedrals the *kerygmatic* ideal was upheld consistently. English parishes, on the other hand, tended towards a more *leitourgic* state for the most part, except in the nineteenth century when they moved almost wholesale into *kerygmatic* territory. In the case of parishes, theological and social conditions played a large part in determining the musical fare.

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<sup>5</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 47.

<sup>6</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 46.

But how were these rubrics interpreted in South Africa? Chapter four has provided a history of music within the Diocese of Cape Town. BCP 1662 was used exclusively in the diocese until the late second decade of the twentieth century when a new Eucharistic Prayer was approved. Even then, the 1662 offices were used until the mid-twentieth century. Before the arrival of Bishop Gray, it appears that parishes were following a *leitourgic* perspective musically, focusing exclusively on metrical psalm singing. But this began to change after Gray's arrival. At St George's Cathedral a *kerygmatic* stance was promoted and expected. This is undoubtedly why they employed a full-time organist and established a choir school to provide choristers. A few parishes, viz. St Paul's, Rondebosch; St Saviour's, Claremont; and St Michael's, Observatory, tried to uphold this tradition too, and were fairly successful until the middle of the twentieth century. Other parishes, as has been noted in chapter four, were quite content to promote a far more *koinoniac* style, in which the choir led the congregation in hymns and canticles, while occasionally preparing an anthem.

### South African Prayer Book 1954

As with the BCP, the architects of the SAPB do not seem to have been particularly interested in musical directions. There are only fourteen references to music throughout the book. Their main concern seems to have been audibility and clarity in such directions as, "And he that readeth the Epistle or Gospel shall turn to the people that all may hear."

Five musical rubrics are found in the daily offices. An office hymn is provided for after the first lesson (for Evensong)<sup>7</sup> and the second lesson (for Matins).<sup>8</sup> Provision is also made for a "hymn or an anthem" after the collects.<sup>9</sup> Presumably the hymn, as opposed to an anthem, was included for parishes or chapels with limited musical means. SAPB Evensong services which I have attended in the Diocese of Cape Town tend to include an introit, a hymn before the sermon and an offertory hymn, although these are not provided for in the rubrics. After the offices, the Advent Anthems (for use between 16-23 December at Evensong) are appointed to "be sung or said before and after the Magnificat".<sup>10</sup> No music is included, and I have not discovered any local musical settings of these texts, although parishes, where the *English Hymnal* was available, may have used the settings contained therein.

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<sup>7</sup> SAPB, 14.

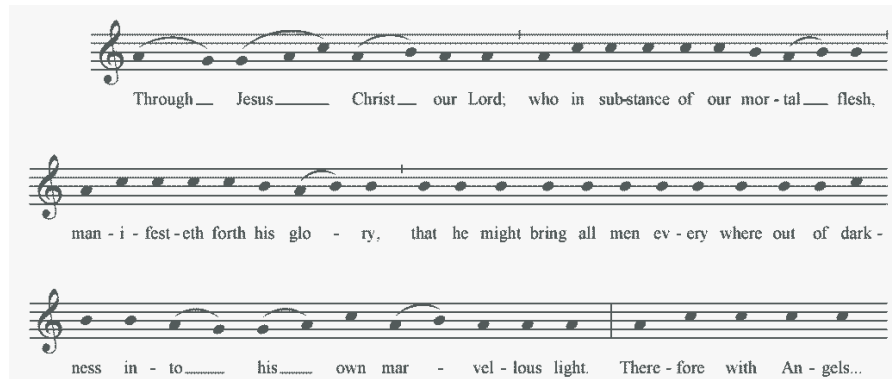
<sup>8</sup> SAPB, 6.

<sup>9</sup> SAPB, 13 and 17.

<sup>10</sup> SAPB, 20.

No musical directions are included for either the Litany or the Communion Service. I have found examples of plainchant Propers for the SAPB,<sup>11</sup> which would suggest that the entire preface of the Eucharistic Prayer may have been sung on occasion (see example 1). Also, numerous settings of the Ordinary abound in choir libraries throughout the diocese, so music certainly was a part of the Eucharistic celebration despite the fact that it was not officially sanctioned by the rubrics.

Example 1: The Proper Preface for Epiphany and seven days after, from *The Prefaces of the South African Alternative Liturgy: Set to Sarum Chant*<sup>12</sup>



The hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus* is found in three services in SAPB: confirmation;<sup>13</sup> the ordering of Priests;<sup>14</sup> and the consecrating of Bishops.<sup>15</sup> This is a slight departure from the BCP 1662 which does not include the hymn in its confirmation rite. In fact, the confirmation rite in BCP 1662 covers only two pages. As in BCP 1662, the hymn is laid out responsorially, the Bishop starting, and the congregation responding. No tune is specified.

The burial services are much more detailed regarding musical performance. In three places directions are given that certain portions may be said or sung by the Priests and Clerkes.<sup>16</sup> There is no written musical evidence that any of these sections was ever sung by clergy.

The musical outlook of SAPB appears to encourage congregational participation, although space is provided for *kerygmatic* music. Surely this was to accommodate a Province which could not afford to spend considerable amounts on professional organists and choirs, and which relied, almost exclusively, on voluntary musical help. In this case, only parishes which had trained musicians could attempt *kerygmatic* music, and indeed, some did. Obviously cathedrals tried to maintain this

<sup>11</sup> *The Prefaces of the South African Alternative Liturgy: Set to Sarum Chant* (AB 2037f).

<sup>12</sup> *The Prefaces of the South African Alternative Liturgy: Set to Sarum Chant*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> SAPB, 435.

<sup>14</sup> SAPB, 692.

<sup>15</sup> SAPB, 702.

<sup>16</sup> SAPB, 471 and 480.



standard. Certainly St George's did. Most parishes, however, were quite content with hymnody and congregational chanted psalmody, with occasional anthems from the parish choir. In general, then, SAPB was catering for *koinoniac* music-making.

SAPB Evensong is still popular in some parishes and the cathedral today. And while SAPB, it appears, was *koinoniac* in its undergirding, SAPB Evensong is almost always *kerygmatic* when performed today. More often than not, the choir leads the preces and responses, psalms, canticles and anthem on behalf of the congregation. In essence, the only congregational participation is the singing of hymns. Thus, in modern thought, SAPB is associated with a *kerygmatic* approach. Actually, since the offices in SAPB are almost exactly the same as those in BCP 1662, it is no surprise that there is a strong residue of the *kerygmatic* attitude. For some contemporary clergy this residue is construed negatively, and SAPB is rejected as a result.

### Anglican Prayer Book 1989

APB is far more thorough and consistent with its musical rubrics. Just after the General Preface the "General Notes" include three references to music:

**Musical settings.** Other versions of liturgical texts may be substituted when a musical setting composed for them is being used.

**Hymns and Acts of Praise** may be introduced where appropriate in the services.

**Saying and Singing.** Where the rubrics direct a section to be 'said' it may be sung; and vice versa.<sup>17</sup>

Each major section of the book begins with a page of general rubrics. In this section the direction, "Hymns and acts of praise may be introduced at appropriate places" is ubiquitous. "Acts of Praise" is a fairly broad directive, and presumably this includes anthems, instrumental music and dancing - it should be noted that no official teaching regarding the interpretation of this rubric has ever been given. Silence plays a major role in all the services and although it does not constitute a musical direction, it certainly serves one of the same purposes that music does, namely to heighten the spiritual atmosphere.

The offices include the option of substituting a hymn for the second canticle (*Te Deum* and *Nunc Dimittis* respectively).<sup>18</sup> At Evening Prayer, the office hymn "Hail gladdening Light" is printed as part of the opening praise rite, but no provision is made for alternate office hymns at this point.<sup>19</sup> This appears to replace the "office hymn" which was provided for in SAPB Evensong. It may have been

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<sup>17</sup> APB, 13.

<sup>18</sup> APB, 47 and 58.

<sup>19</sup> APB, 55.

more expedient for the revisers to append a rubric which gave permission for other evening hymns to be sung at that point in the service.

The Eucharist has two specific rubrics which are of interest. The first states, "Another canticle or hymn may replace 5 [*Gloria*]"<sup>20</sup> Many charismatic churches have interpreted this fairly liberally, often including two or three praise songs in place of the *Gloria*. In effect, the beginning of a service can be 'authentically' Anglican, while still appearing to conform to charismatic services from other denominations. Bishop Geoff Quinlan, in his *Worship Manual*, guardedly advocates such an approach, and perhaps this explains the provenance of the practice.<sup>21</sup> Provision is also made for a gradual hymn between the New Testament Lesson and the Gospel.<sup>22</sup> In some parishes the gradual hymn is split into two, where the first part is sung before the Gospel, and the second half afterwards. This practice is more prevalent in high churches, where a procession moves from the sanctuary to the middle of the nave for the Gospel, and then returns afterwards. Unless the hymn reflects the Gospel in some way, this practice can make for some interesting juxtapositions of Gospel literature and hymn theology. But, as music-for-movement it achieves its purpose.

In the "Alternative Order for Celebrating the Eucharist" the following rubric is given: "These sections may include readings, music, dance and other art forms, comment, discussion and silence."<sup>23</sup> Presumably a performance of a cantata, or a carol service, for example, could form the basis of this portion of the service. In practice, though, this type of interpretation is seldom attempted.

The services of Holy Week are particularly rich in musical directions. Palm Sunday includes a sung acclamation and "...hymns in honour of Christ".<sup>24</sup> Maundy Thursday includes a hymn of unknown provenance, which may be sung.<sup>25</sup> In particular, the designers of the Good Friday rite must have had musicians in mind. Two very specific notes are included: "If the psalm is to be sung, it is better to choose a single chant. If a double chant is used, the refrain must be sung to the second part,"<sup>26</sup> and, "The traditional form [of the Reproaches] may be substituted when a musical setting requires it."<sup>27</sup> These are practical guides to aid performance, and perhaps speak from the experience of trial experimentation on the part of the architects of the rite.

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<sup>20</sup> APB, 104.

<sup>21</sup> Quinlan, *A Manual for Worship Leaders*, 50.

<sup>22</sup> APB, 107.

<sup>23</sup> APB, 131.

<sup>24</sup> APB, 173.

<sup>25</sup> APB, 185.

<sup>26</sup> APB, 189.

<sup>27</sup> APB, 194.

The Easter Day Service too has fairly detailed instructions, particularly in the Service of Light (the first section of the Easter Vigil). Here, as the Easter Candle is processed through the church, the Deacon is exhorted to sing a sentence, followed by a response from the congregation.<sup>28</sup> This ceremonial is followed in many parishes, both high and low. In general, the practice in the diocese is for the deacon (or priest, depending on whether there is a deacon available) sings each successive reiteration of the response a semi-tone higher, perhaps as an added indication of rising/resurrection. The *Exultet* is also required to be sung.<sup>29</sup> A number of parishes have plainsong settings of the *Exultet* in their music libraries, which would indicate its performance, at least occasionally. In most parishes the priest simply recites the text. Later in the service, during the confirmation rite (if it is to be administered at the Vigil), the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, "...or some other hymn addressed to the Holy Spirit, is sung."<sup>30</sup> The *Veni Creator* hymn is also present in the separate confirmation rites and the ordination services.<sup>31</sup>

In general, hymn singing seems to have been greatly encouraged by the editors of APB. The direction "...or a hymn may be sung" follows a number of canticles or psalms. In funeral services the rubrics suggest, "Hymns may also be sung during the procession and at appropriate places in the service."<sup>32</sup> Perhaps this is because the book, like BCP 1662 and SAPB, was intended mainly for parish worship.

Purely instrumental music is openly encouraged on occasion. For example, during the service of the Consecration of a Bishop "A fanfare may sound and the people may express their joy by clapping or in some other manner."<sup>33</sup>

In all, the APB presents a much more systematic and consistent set of musical rubrics than either BCP 1662 or SAPB. It too, envisions a *koinoniac* musical tradition, which includes the congregation most of the time. However, there are ample spaces for *kerygmatic* and *leitourgic* moments too, especially in the Easter Vigil and for other special services. A generally *koinoniac* musical flavour was not unusual, since APB was so heavily influenced by the Liturgical Movement. Of course, many parishes within the Diocese of Cape Town were already promoting this style before APB or L75 were introduced. It is interesting that APB can also accommodate a fully *kerygmatic* interpretation, and on occasion this has been attempted. This flexibility of choice and character, it would appear, has led to the diverse nature of worship which is permitted within the diocese and Province.

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<sup>28</sup> APB, 204.

<sup>29</sup> APB, 204.

<sup>30</sup> APB, 221.

<sup>31</sup> APB, 392, 585 and 600.

<sup>32</sup> APB, 530.

<sup>33</sup> APB, 603.

Thus, APB, as opposed to BCP 1662 and SAPB, is rich in musical rubrics. This confirms the findings of chapter five, namely that the liturgical committee did take music very seriously in their revisions of South African liturgies.



## Chapter Seven

### The Changing Role of Music in the Diocese as a Result of the Reformed Theological Perspectives of *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*

...musical practices are usually dependent on social, economic, and cultural interactions traversing a wider terrain than is immediately occupied by the music makers.<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

The purpose of chapters seven, eight and nine is to present an overview of the current liturgical and musical trends in the Diocese of Cape Town. This musical panorama is augmented by discussions about the conditions in which music is created in the church. The epigraph above suggests that social, economic and cultural interactions contribute to a fuller understanding of music. While these factors are considered, music-making in the Anglican context is also dependent on theological and liturgical trends. For this reason the following three chapters concentrate largely on matters related to liturgy and theology which have a bearing on contemporary music. Likewise, issues surrounding the interaction of money, power and culture with music in the church are also considered. The content of these chapters was gathered through surveys and parish visitations, both of which will be discussed in this introduction.

#### Survey

In the late 1980's the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music (ACCM) created a survey to assess church music in Britain – with a far larger sample than this present study. ACCM's report analysed church music in parishes, cathedrals, schools, and the armed services.<sup>2</sup> It also addressed certain sociological changes of the time which had affected church music profoundly.<sup>3</sup> The results revealed a highly varied situation, with rural and urban churches recording significant differences in standards and repertoire.<sup>4</sup> Electronic instruments and digital media were still fairly new in the church in Britain at the time and the report offered advice to those who were considering using keyboards, pianos, electronic organs, etc.<sup>5</sup> ACCM's findings are somewhat dated now, because so many contemporary worship movements have appeared since then, and newer liturgical resources have been developed (particularly in Britain).

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert, "Social History and Music History", 150.

<sup>2</sup> See part two in *In Tune With Heaven*, 33 - 76.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter nineteen in *In Tune With Heaven*, 155 - 159.

<sup>4</sup> See chapters nine and ten in *In Tune With Heaven*, 77 - 92.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter eighteen in *In Tune With Heaven*, 145 - 154.

At the time that ACCM's report was published, the Church of England had recently come through a lengthy process of liturgical reform, which culminated in the *Alternative Service Book* in 1980. As a consequence, many parishes were in a state of flux. In contrast, at the time of this study, South Africa's liturgical milieu is far more settled. APB was introduced in 1989 and was almost unanimously adopted throughout the Province. It has served as the liturgical benchmark for the Province for just over twenty years and it appears as though no major liturgical experimentation has been planned for the near future.<sup>6</sup> The worship experience of local Anglicans has, however, been profoundly affected by the political and sociological changes which have characterised South African society in the past twenty years. Thus, a survey of current liturgical and musical practice is of particular importance historically for ACSA.

A survey similar to the ACCM's was conducted in South Africa between 1993 and 1996 by Renée Lagerwall.<sup>7</sup> Her goal was to explore the tensions between 'traditional' and 'contemporary'<sup>8</sup> factions in local congregations.<sup>9</sup> Some of Lagerwall's questions were based on ACCM's survey, but she chose to look beyond the Anglican Church, including an additional seventeen Protestant denominations in her sample.<sup>10</sup> Most of the responses were tabled according to the individual denominations. This clearly showed Anglican views in relation to other denominations. The individual Anglican results are of particular interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, they give a representation of Anglican musical consciousness at the time of democratic transition. Lagerwall's findings showed that Anglicans presented a fairly conservative musical front, with a tentative willingness to embrace the more established forms of so-called 'contemporary' worship. Secondly, her results showed how Anglican musical trends had begun to change twenty years after the introduction of L75. For example, by 1996 there appeared to be more flexibility in the musical styles included in Sunday worship.

It has been interesting comparing my own findings with those of Lagerwall's study. Since she did not have the same research aims in mind, her work did not include liturgical references. Additionally, Lagerwall's work was restricted to matters relating exclusively to 'traditional' and 'contemporary'

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<sup>6</sup> In fact, the Eucharistic rite has been in use since 1975, when it was introduced as part of the experimental series *Liturgy 1975*. In some parishes it has been in use for close on thirty-five years.

<sup>7</sup> Lagerwall, *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches*.

<sup>8</sup> A discussion about the terms 'contemporary' and 'traditional' is in chapter eight following. Here the terms are used according to Lagerwall's understanding. 'Contemporary' includes pop and song/chorus genres, usually accompanied by a band of lead singer, guitars and drums. 'Traditional' refers to hymnody (strophic, rhymed songs with SATB tunes), anthems and choir-led psalms, usually accompanied on the organ.

<sup>9</sup> Her research showed that, by and large, South African Protestants were quite pragmatic about musical matters, enjoying both the traditional and contemporary. However, what her work did show was that professional musicians preferred 'traditional' styles and tended to rebel against change. Lagerwall, *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches*, chapter two.

<sup>10</sup> Lagerwall, *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches*, 162.

music. As a result, none of her questions addressed localisation. My own survey included several questions to address this issue.

From the outset a number of contextual considerations must be addressed. Firstly, the ACCM's survey was intended for rural and urban settings. In contrast, the Diocese of Cape Town today is exclusively urban - its boundaries encircle the greater City of Cape Town on either side of Table Mountain. Therefore, the results presented below, only reflect the urban situation and do not address musical issues prevalent in rural parishes. Secondly, the demographics of each congregation were a special consideration for this thesis. Since 1994 many congregations have been in a state of flux and are now more racially mixed than ever before. Inevitably this has had an effect on musical taste, especially since clergy have been making a conscious effort to accommodate different race groups in their congregations. Some parishes still comprise only one particular race group. In these instances it was interesting to discover the musical preferences of homogenous congregations. In both homogenous and heterogeneous congregations, it has been fascinating to find who 'imposes' musical taste on the parish. Thirdly, this thesis concentrates on the effects of liturgical change on repertoire. Consequently, a number of questions regarding the Province's prayer books were included. Fourthly, three questions were incorporated to assess the effectiveness of locally produced liturgies, worship manuals and ecumenical interaction. Finally, a number of musical questions addressing local content and musical instruments were necessary to evaluate the church's localisation programme.

The survey itself is divided into six sections.<sup>11</sup> The first establishes a parish profile and includes questions regarding the size, ethnicity, average age, average economic status and theological stance of each church. It also determines the number of weekly services conducted in the parish, as well as which prayer books are normally used at these services. The second section revolves around the role of music in the parish. Sections three and four are designed to assess the musical leadership and personnel in each church and includes questions about instruments, hymnbooks, musical repertoire and choirs/music groups. The fifth component ascertains how efficient parishes are when it comes to budgeting for music and paying their musicians. The final section is reserved for specific comments from individual parishes. A covering letter was sent with the survey and can be found in the appendix.<sup>12</sup>

The survey was sent out just before Christmas 2009, with the hope that it would arrive at parishes early in 2010. It was sent directly to clergy since, according to ACSA's canons, a rector is responsible

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<sup>11</sup> The full survey may be found in the Appendix N.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix O.



for worship within his/her parish. As will become clear later in this section, many clergy exercise this duty by reserving the right to choose the music for services. Thus, although most clergy have little, if any training in liturgical music, they are its legal custodians within their charges. It was therefore deemed necessary to review *their* ideas concerning music, since they were the ones who exercised the most power over parish music. Nevertheless, they were encouraged to engage with their local musicians when completing the survey. Clergy were requested to return the survey by 31 January 2010. The survey project was advertised in the September edition of *Good Hope*, the diocesan newspaper, and lay people were encouraged to participate in the project by sending comments via post or email to me.<sup>13</sup> It was advertised again at the first component of the *Ashes to Fire* liturgical and musical conference in January 2010.<sup>14</sup>

Surveys were sent to forty-nine of the fifty-one parishes in the Diocese. The two parishes which were not included could not be accessed easily through the postal service (they are island parishes in the South Atlantic). One survey was returned unopened. It was subsequently discovered that the church's postal address had changed. Thus the survey reached at least forty-eight Anglican parishes. By the time this chapter was written, twenty had been returned (41%). No further surveys have been received since.

### Parish visitations

After the results of the survey had been collected, it was decided that more detailed information regarding individual parishes needed to be collected through field work. Firstly, this was done to ratify that the results found in the surveys actually correlated with worship trends in parishes. Secondly, no black parishes were able to complete the survey. Thus, to give a fair reflection of worship throughout the spectrum of Anglicanism in the diocese, it was necessary to attend worship and interview clergy and musicians at two black parishes.

The parishes were chosen either because they represented particular extremes of Anglicanism (e.g. Evangelical and Anglo-Catholicism), or because they were leaders in a particular style of worship (e.g. black parishes), or because of the importance of the parish in the Diocese or Province at large (e.g. St George's Cathedral). During the course of this doctoral study, other parishes in the diocese were also examined and evaluated. A few interesting aspects of the worship, noted during these visits, have been included to demonstrate the similarities and contrasts in musical practice.

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<sup>13</sup> *Good Hope* (September 2009), 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ashes to Fire* was a two-day conference organised by the Diocesan Liturgical Committee of Cape Town. It dealt with issues surrounding liturgy, preaching and music for the seasons of Lent and Eastertide. It was held at Christ Church Constantia and was led by Rev. Bruce Jenneker, Rev. Keith Griffiths and Andrew-John Bethke.

The analysis of each parish was compiled after a series of visits and interviews with relevant clergy and musicians.<sup>15</sup> The parishes were invited to participate in the study and gave their assent to the analyses. As in other chapters, the author has used his chosen method of analysing the role of music and its development: *kerygmatic*, *koinoniac* and *leitourgic*. The full explanation of the terms used in this analytical method is discussed in chapter one.

The author has worked in the diocese for over ten years, and has visited most of the parishes for special services, training workshops, choir practices, instrumental consultations and so on. Consequently, he has a good understanding of the diocesan music scene as a whole. Occasionally he has drawn on this experience to make specific comments regarding the role of music or repertoire. This has been indicated in the footnotes where necessary.

### **Parochial context**

Music-making never occurs in a vacuum. Musical trends are often heavily influenced by cultural/racial, economic and political factors. Thus, to begin with, an overview of the survey participants is required.

The average attendance of the twenty parishes, which completed the survey, is 228 parishioners per Sunday. Evangelical parishes appear to attract the most congregants (267), while central (250) and catholic (200) parishes came second and third respectively.<sup>16</sup> The majority (50%) of parishes class themselves as racially mixed, while 30% are almost exclusively coloured and 15% white. Unfortunately no parishes from black townships responded to the survey. Fifty-five per cent (55%) of congregations are middle-aged (36 - 55), while 30% are aging (56 - 75). This shows that the Anglican Church attracts mostly middle-aged people, but that some congregations are aging quickly. In 1996 the situation was fairly similar. According to Lagerwall, the majority of Anglicans were between the ages of 31 and 56+.<sup>17</sup> What this shows is that Anglicanism in South Africa consistently attracts middle-aged and older people, rather than the young. That is not to say that there are no young people in Anglican churches. Quite the contrary, but it must be noted that in general these young people have grown up in Anglican families and attend church together with their parents, rather than being attracted as a new converts. In the economic spectrum, 10% of parishes are from wealthy areas, 40% from the middle class, while 20% are from low income and 30% claim to be evenly mixed. Given the economic data, it can also be concluded that Anglicanism caters for middle-aged

<sup>15</sup> A detailed list of visits and interviews can be found in the bibliography.

<sup>16</sup> Here and in the results (Appendix P) Evangelical, Central and Catholic refer to the three parties of Anglican theology as discussed in chapter one. 'Central' is sometimes referred to as 'broad church' or 'latitudinarian' in common parlance. Likewise 'Catholic' encompasses both 'Anglo-Catholic' and 'Tractarian'.

<sup>17</sup> Lagerwall, *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches*, 120.

professionals. The structured nature of its liturgy and the generally more conservative styles of music within worship can be appealing to those with higher education or to skilled labourers. The situation in townships is slightly different. There one finds an even mix of old and young, fairly wealthy and extremely poor. However, township congregations are also finding it increasingly difficult to attract younger members from the wider community.

Fifty per cent (50%) of respondents indicated that they were either liberal Catholic or Anglo-Catholic in theological orientation, 35% identified with the Central tradition, and 15% as Evangelical. Although the majority of parishes still identify with the catholic currents of the Province's past, the survey results show that the diocese is gradually moving towards a more central theological position. This may be a reflection of the more liberal society South Africa has become since 1994. Nevertheless, 35% of parishes still identify themselves as staunchly Anglo-Catholic. The Charismatic Movement has had a marked influence on the diocese. Seventy per cent (70%) of congregations indicated that they were either 'somewhat' or 'greatly' influenced by the movement. This is not surprising, especially since Rt Rev. Bill Burnett was Archbishop of this diocese in the 1970's. Even 40% of catholic-oriented parishes said that they had been 'somewhat' influenced by the movement. The ecumenical movement has also had a profound effect on the diocese. Fifty-five per cent (55%) of parishes indicate that they are involved in ecumenical services.

APB is by far the most popular prayer book in the diocese. In 95% of parishes it is used for most services, while 80% specified that they use APB exclusively. One parish uses APB and BCP at alternate services, and one parish uses APB in conjunction with SAPB. Only one parish is not using APB. Congregations which have a sung Evensong still tend to prefer SAPB for the office. Evidently the APB order for Evening Prayer has not been as successful as the Eucharistic rite.

Eighty per cent (80%) of parishes affirmed that the Eucharist/Communion was their principal Sunday worship service. Since South Africa has always been considered a more Anglo-Catholic Province throughout its history, the Eucharist has always been the point of focus. Indeed, a weekly (or even daily) Eucharist is celebrated in most parishes. However, until the Parish Communion Movement in the 1940's and 50's, Matins was still the principal worship service of the day, attended by the majority of parishioners. The picture today is quite different. Now the Eucharist forms the focus of congregational worship and Morning Prayer has all but died out. In fact, so has the music which formed the backbone of that service: morning canticles and responses. Admittedly, today's Eucharistic services are far more participatory than Morning Prayer ever was. Evangelical parishes still tend to use Morning Prayer on alternate Sundays, with a Eucharist every second week. Sung Evensong is still heard in some parishes, but this office has largely died out. So has the rich

repertoire of music which accompanies it. Some parishes still have a sung Evensong once a month or once a quarter.

The survey shows that a large number of parishes are using, or have used, supplements to the APB. *Seasons of Creation* is the most popular (70% have used it in their churches), while the new *Worship Resource Manual*, as well as *HIV/AIDS in Worship* and *Services for Parish Use* are all equally popular (55%). Local authors are also influencing liturgical celebrations in the diocese. Suggit's *Celebration of Faith* and Anglican Liturgical Notes for Today have been used widely. *Celebration of Faith* is a short book on the theological underpinnings of the Eucharist. It describes the function and role of each section of the Eucharistic service, with theological explanations. *Anglican Liturgical Notes for Today* is similar to *Celebration of Faith*, but it deals with a far wider gamut of liturgical services, and the dilemmas which are faced in modern theological/liturgical thought. For example, he discusses the contemporary significance of using incense in worship. Other popular resources include Quinlan's *Manual for Worship Leaders* and Rowland's *Light of Christ*. These resources deal directly with contemporary liturgical issues, sometimes from a devotional perspective.

### **Musical personnel**

Of the parishes which participated in the survey, 76% reported that they employed a director of music. In other words, almost a quarter of the parishes do not have some kind of formal musical leadership. In congregations where there is a director of music, they are most likely to be male (65%). A high percentage of parishes which do have musical direction also have an additional organist (67%).

Sixty per cent (60%) of congregations reported that they support a choir, while 45% said they have a separate singing group.<sup>18</sup> Catholic-orientated parishes are more likely to have a choir (70%), while Evangelical parishes are more likely to have a singing group (67%).<sup>19</sup> Seventy-five per cent (75%) of choirs are robed. In Central parishes, choirs are most likely not to be robed (71%). White parishes with choirs do not use robes (100%). Only 40% of mixed parishes use them, while 67% of coloured parishes have robed choirs. The average size of parish choirs/singing groups is 10.6 members, of whom 4.4 are men and 6.2 are women. The average number of children per parish, under the age of

<sup>18</sup> A 'choir' is a formal musical entity with separate voice parts, e.g. SATB. Usually their repertoire includes Anglican psalm chants, anthems, canticles, plainsong, hymns and songs. They lead the congregation in communal singing and also prepare special choral items. Often the choir wears robes and rehearse regularly. A 'singing group' is a more informal musical entity, usually singing in unison, although some singing groups learn two-part music. Their main function is to lead congregational singing, and occasionally they prepare choral items. They do not wear robes and tend to rehearse when necessary.

<sup>19</sup> In 1996, 62% of Anglican churches had a formal choir, while 38% preferred an informal singing group. Lagerwall, *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches*, 124.

18, in such groups is 1. The average number of people involved in music per parish is 18.1, of whom 8.5 are male and 9.6 are female.<sup>20</sup> Catholic and Evangelical oriented parishes tend to have roughly equal numbers of female and male musicians, while in Central parishes musicians are more likely to be female (66%).

Many clergy appear to collaborate with their music directors when choosing music for worship (45%), but as noted above, clergy have the right to determine musical practice within their parishes. In a few parishes the priest chooses music alone (25%). In one congregation the music director and priest usually choose music together, but the worship committee selects music for special services. Fifty per cent (50%) of parishes have an active worship committee. Statistically Central parishes are the least likely to have a worship committee (57% say they do not have one), while the majority of Evangelical parishes (67%) do have one. In parishes where there is a worship committee, 50% meet weekly. Other parishes seem to prefer quarterly meetings (30%).

### Training and budget

The training of church musicians is an important aspect of the Church's educational mission. Traditionally the church has been a patron of the arts, nurturing budding musicians and composers. Of the parishes which do have musical directors, 92% feel that they have been appropriately trained to serve the church. Eighty-four per cent (84%) of them have some kind of musical qualification (although the details of these qualifications were not surveyed). Only 38% of them make a living as professional musicians.

The relationship between musical directors and their rectors can sometimes be strained and uncomfortable.<sup>21</sup> It was surprising then that all the respondents suggested that their relationship with the local music director was comfortable. Parish music can be a divisive agent, splitting congregations into camps, either 'traditional' or 'contemporary'. This appears to be relatively uncharacteristic of the Cape Town congregations. When asked if parishes are supportive of musical innovations, 100% replied 'yes'. Additionally, 84% indicated that music was one of the aspects that attracted people to their church. Only 11% of parishes have had people leave because of music.

<sup>20</sup> This accords with the trends in Protestant churches between 1993 and 1996, when the majority of musicians serving in churches was female. See Lagerwall, *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches*, 88.

<sup>21</sup> The number of books and articles which discuss clergy/musician relationships is vast. The relationship between a priest and musician can be strained for a number of reasons. Quite often there are subtle power struggles between the two parties. For example, these days some organists have tended to resist introducing newer styles of music into a congregation's repertoire. If the organist refuses to play certain styles, this often causes conflict. Another point of contention is remuneration. Clergy often expect lay organists and musicians to give of their time for no payment, or for a minimal honorarium. As a result, some musicians feel hard done by.

Sometimes clergy feel that their knowledge of church music is inadequate to give guidance to their musicians. Contemporary South African clergy training hardly covers liturgy or music,<sup>22</sup> so it is surprising that 63% of the Cape Town clergy feel that they are adequately equipped for this task. Thirty-seven per cent (37%) admitted that they need additional musical/liturgical training. Events such as the *Ashes to Fire* liturgical and musical conference, held in January and March 2010, aim to assist in this regard. The high attendance at these events shows that there is a definite need in this area.<sup>23</sup>

Sixty-five per cent (65%) of parishes say that they allow for a music component in their overall budget. Since music has not always been a major priority in the diocese or the province in the past (see chapter four), this is a positive development. In fact, it appears now more than ever before, that parishes are willing to pay fairly decent wages for musicians.<sup>24</sup> A staggeringly high proportion of parishes (90%) offer their musicians payment for their services. Some respondents mentioned that their musicians preferred not to accept the offer of payment. The range of payment offered was not surveyed. Beyond paying musicians, a budget for purchasing new music is equally important. In other parts of the country, many parishes do not make adequate provision for this type of musical expenditure.<sup>25</sup> This would account for the large number of illegal photocopies which abound throughout the country. It seems the same problem is prevalent within this diocese.

### **Role of music in worship**

Music appears to be a priority in parochial worship. In fact, 90% of congregations confirmed that music is an integral component of their services. The survey provided seven 'roles' for music. These can be categorised according to the three theological roles of music discussed in chapter one.

*Kerygmatic*: to provide a medium for evangelism, to uplift the soul

*Koinoniac*: to promote corporate awareness and fellowship, to provide contrast or establish mood

*Leitourgic*: to worship and praise God, to help people pray, and to illuminate and intensify the words of the service

The seven roles which were surveyed were adopted, without change, from the ACCM's original survey. Since *kerygmatic* music is used to impart the word, it is similar in nature to a sermon. Thus it

<sup>22</sup> Author's personal experience of South African seminaries. The College of the Transfiguration in Grahamstown appointed a professional liturgist to their staff in mid 2011.

<sup>23</sup> There were over 180 delegates at the *Ashes to Fire* Conference.

<sup>24</sup> In 2011 parishes were willing to pay between R350 and R750 per service for an organist.

<sup>25</sup> Author's personal experience when interviewing colleagues in other parts of the country.

is evangelistic, but it also provides opportunity for the worshiper's soul to be lifted before God as a direct result of its message. *Koinoniac* music, on the other hand, is mainly involved in affirming the community of believers, promoting fellowship, and helping to provide contrast, to ensure the group does not stagnate. Any liturgical act which is directly related to music can be described as *leitourgic*. Thus, explicit songs of worship and prayer, where God is the sole listener, are *leitourgic*.

Having categorised the seven roles, we are able to discern which role is most prevalent in the diocese. When prompted to rate a selection of roles and purposes for music in worship, most parishes asserted that church music is designed chiefly for the praise of God, i.e. *leitourgic*. The results for this question are included directly below (1 being of highest importance, 7 being of least). Overall, they seem to tend towards a broadly *leitourgic* role for music. Given the fact that the Anglican Church is characterised as a liturgical denomination, this result is not surprising. Note how low both *kerygmatic* and *koinoniac* roles score. The evangelistic and corporate nature of music has not been fully explored or, more likely, understood within the diocese. Nonetheless, as the more specific questions in the survey delved deeper, a more nuanced situation became clear.

	Overall <sup>26</sup>	Catholic	Evangelical	Central
To provide a medium for evangelism (ke)	6	6	5	6
To provide contrast or establish mood (ko)	7	7	5	7
To uplift the soul (ke)	5	3	2	5
To worship and praise God (l)	1	1	1	1
To help people pray (l)	3	4	3	4
To promote corporate awareness and fellowship in worship (ko)	4	5	4	3
To illuminate and intensify the words of the service (l)	2	2	7	2

I asked parishes if they consciously chose different music for different prayer book services. For example, do parishes choose hymns for an SAPB service and worship songs for an APB service? The majority of Evangelical parishes choose music to suit the ethos of different services, but not necessarily for different prayer books (67%). This is not unusual, since these parishes often have a 'traditional' early service with hymns and a more 'contemporary' service later in the morning with worship songs. In other words, the role of music in this sense is to delineate a particular style of worship, rather than an explicitly theological stance. A significant number of Central parishes (57%) also choose music to suit the ethos of a particular service. Other parishes appear to have a fairly consistent range of music for all of their services.

<sup>26</sup> The results in this column are not averages of the three separate theological 'parties', but rather reflect the entire sample of twenty respondents.

The author also wanted to know if congregations use locally composed music to promote local identity. It appears that the advent of the World Cup in South Africa influenced the answers to this question somewhat, since local identity became increasingly important as the event drew nearer. This question was an extension of one of the 'roles' of music listed in the table above, that is, 'to promote corporate awareness and fellowship in worship'. It received quite a low score overall (4), although the Central parishes rated it slightly higher (3). When confronted with the direct question, the clear majority (70%) of parishes agreed that they include local music to promote local identity and culture. Thus, *koinonia*, the main theological thrust of APB, has not gone unnoticed musically.

The majority (75%) of respondents said that they chose music to reflect the readings and liturgical seasons. These answers accord with the table above, in which the second most popular purpose of church music is "to illuminate and intensify the words of the service". Parishes which choose music spontaneously tend to be Evangelical theologically and are usually greatly influenced by the Charismatic Movement. It is interesting that two of Catholic-orientated parishes allow spontaneous musical choices alongside the planned music for the day.

Thus, for most Anglican parishes music is vital to worship. Music's role in services tends to be more *leitourgic*, but also includes elements of *koinonia*. Now the focus moves to individual parishes and how they function musically.

### **St George's Cathedral, Cape Town**

St George's Cathedral is the mother church of the diocese and the province. It attracts a large congregation each week which includes a significant number of local and international visitors. The congregation is predominantly middle-aged (36 – 55), but a growing number of young families are joining the parish. In April 2010, Dean Rowan Smith retired and the Cathedral was in an inter-regnum for a year. A new incumbent, the Venerable Michael Weeder, had been named by the Archbishop and he was installed on 22 May 2011.

### **Worship**

The cathedral describes itself as "liberal Catholic" in theological orientation and this is reflected in the dignified and respectful ceremonial and music. The clergy are always robed<sup>27</sup> and incense is used at the weekly 10am Eucharist. The cathedral claims not to have been affected by the Charismatic Movement in any significant way. In fact, at the height of the charismatic years, Dean Ted King was

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<sup>27</sup> At the Eucharist, the celebrant wears a chasuble throughout the service. Other officiating clergy wear an alb and stole. At Evensong the clergy wear cassock and surplice with stole and academic hood.



strongly criticised for his 'traditional' theological outlook.<sup>28</sup> Today the cathedral is at the forefront of liturgical experimentation and development, but is deeply rooted in the South African Anglican liturgical tradition, using both SAPB and APB on a weekly basis.

Like many international Anglican cathedrals, St George's employs a Canon Precentor who is in charge of the worship in the parish. Until recently, Rev. Bruce Jenneker held this position. He possesses an encyclopaedic knowledge of the western liturgical tradition and has wide experience in worship. Having lived and worked in the United States for over twenty years, he has been highly influenced by the Episcopal Church's tradition. Some have criticised him for introducing too much of an American flavour to the cathedral's worship.<sup>29</sup>

The worship at St George's is closely linked to the Church's liturgical calendar. In particular, the liturgy is adapted to accommodate this trend more clearly. For example, the APB Eucharistic Prayers are not designed for specific seasonal celebrations. Thus, prayers that have been designed to reflect seasonal themes by the Province's liturgical committee, such as those contained in the recent *Worship Recourse Manual*, tend to be used fairly frequently. This presents a problem for the congregation, since these texts are not contained in APB. As a consequence, the weekly Eucharistic service is printed in a bulletin which includes the readings in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, as well as the hymn texts. Additionally, the cathedral has made it its mission to be as inclusive linguistically as possible. It is not unusual to have the lessons read in Afrikaans or Xhosa, although the psalms and hymns tend to be in English. All the cathedral staff expend a great deal of energy constructing these liturgies each week. This would account for the generally high standards in ceremonial.

Being an inner city church and situated directly opposite Parliament, the cathedral holds a prominent place in the city's worship life. Besides being a place for prayer for numerous city workers, it is a church which is deeply concerned for the homeless, especially street dwellers, and those on the fringes of society. The cathedral is also a church which promotes contemplative worship. Taizé services, for example, feature regularly in Lent. And, notably, the cathedral now boasts a labyrinth. Weekday services are devotional and simple.

On any given Sunday there are four services at the Cathedral: 7am (said Eucharist); 8am (said Eucharist); 10am (sung Cathedral Eucharist) and 7pm (sung Evensong). The greatest number of congregants attends Eucharistic services, whereas Evensong attracts only about forty to fifty parishioners, except on special occasions. St George's also has a full round of services during the week, including two to three said Eucharists a day. From time to time, weekday services are sung,

<sup>28</sup> King, *A Good Place to Be*, 41 - 42.

<sup>29</sup> Author's personal experience when speaking with musicians, clergy and lay people around the diocese.

particularly on special occasions such as the patronal festival, Ash Wednesday, etc. The church does participate in ecumenical activities fairly regularly, and opens its pulpit to ministers of other denominations from time to time.

### Music staff

The cathedral employs two musicians. David Orr is contracted on a full time basis and is the Director of Music. He conducts the cathedral choirs and plays the organ for the 10am Eucharist. The music-director post also includes a small teaching load at St George's Grammar School. Orr holds a Master's degree in organ performance from Rhodes University. He comes from a music-teaching background. Mark Mitchell is the cathedral organist and is employed on a quarter-time basis. He plays for Evensong each week and for weekday musical services. He holds a Master's degree in music and is currently Director of Music at Diocesan College. He is one of the few South African organists who has had experience as an organ scholar<sup>30</sup> at an English cathedral (Worcester). Traditionally the cathedral has also supported an organ scholar. At present there is no incumbent in this position. The cathedral choir draws its children from St George's Grammar School. They receive a small scholarship towards their fees in return for singing in the choir. Originally the choir comprised only men and boys. Today girls and women are included too. The men and women in the choir are all volunteers - a number are parents of the children. The cathedral also supports a second choir which sings once a month at the 10am orchestral Eucharist. This choir, called the University Cathedral Singers, was formed by David Orr when he took the post as Director of Music. The volunteer membership is comprised mainly of students from the University of Cape Town. Many fine local and international choirs also visit the cathedral each year and participate in the worship.

The cathedral also employs orchestral musicians on an *ad hoc* basis for their monthly orchestral Eucharists. Brass players are recruited occasionally to supplement the organ at hymn festivals and special occasions. A number of professional musicians are members of the cathedral congregation. From time to time they collaborate and present special music for worship. On one such occasion, Sarita Stern (soprano) and Simone Kirsch (piano) presented *Songs of Holy Love*<sup>31</sup> as a service of musical devotion on Sunday 27 June 2010.

In addition to performing musicians, the cathedral has attracted a number of composers to its congregation over the years. At present Prof. Peter Klatzow, the renowned South African composer, is a member of the congregation. He has written several works which have been premiered in the

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<sup>30</sup> An organ scholar is an apprentice organist/choir director who is attached to a cathedral or parish, usually for a year.

<sup>31</sup> This was the title of the service.

cathedral, including a *Mass for Africa*, *Songs and Dances from Africa* and *Evening Canticles*, as well as a host of anthems. Stephen Carletti, another congregant and respected local composer, has written several anthems, sets of responses, canticles and carols for the cathedral choir. The famous South African film composer, Grant McLachlan, has also contributed a few brass arrangements to the cathedral's repertoire.

As can be seen from above, the music at St George's fulfils numerous functions. At the main service of the day (10am Eucharist), the role of music is largely to illuminate the liturgy. In many ways the music is in direct dialogue with the scripture readings and liturgical theme. As such it can be broadly described as *leitourgic*. However, since it also is always inclusive of the whole congregation, it fulfils the role of building community, i.e. *koinoniac*. This, however, is a secondary role, since the content of the music is not always genuinely *koinoniac*. The 7pm Evensong tends to be much more *kerygmatic*, particularly because the choir leads almost all the music without congregational participation. Certainly, the technical difficulty of the repertoire, which will be discussed in more detail later, will confirm the exclusivist nature of the service. In general, it is churches who wish to maintain the *kerygmatic* style, which require highly trained musicians. It is no surprise then that St George's has two qualified and experienced musicians at the helm.

### **St Cyprian's, Langa**

St Cyprian's is a large parish church set in the midst of Langa, a low-income suburb (formerly a black township).<sup>32</sup> The congregation is exclusively black, but often welcomes white and coloured visitors. Sunday congregations are usually in excess of five hundred people. The congregation is well balanced with adults, young people and small children.

### Worship

St Cyprian's was originally established as a parochial church linked to St Cuthbert's in the Eastern Cape, but later became an independent parish in the diocese. At first a local monastic order was charged with the administration of the church (which would account for the Anglo-Catholic design and furnishings), but later spiritual leadership was handed over to local black clergy. Last year the parish celebrated seventy-five years of ministry in Langa.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Langa is a low income suburb of Cape Town.

<sup>33</sup> See *St Cyprian's Celebrates 75 Years with Festivities*

[<http://www.capetown.anglican.org/view.asp?ItemID=225&tname=tblComponent1&oname=news&pg=front>] accessed 28 January 2011.

There are two services per Sunday: an early morning Eucharist and the principal congregational Eucharist (9am). The early service is simple in nature with a selection of hymns from *Iculo Lase-Tshetshi Ne-Ngoma* (Xhosa hymn book). The main Eucharist is rich in ceremonial observance and can be described as Anglo-Catholic. The church's furnishings serve to reinforce this theological outlook. A carefully dressed altar, complete with ornate brass candle sticks, crosses and silver vessels, is the centre of attention. A beautifully carved statue of Mary holding Jesus stands to the right of the pulpit. There are two side chapels. Both are neatly appointed and have their own altars. All the servers, lay ministers and clergy are robed.

The parish uses the Xhosa translation of APB (*Incwadi Yomthandazo Yase Tshetshi*). Both morning Eucharist services follow the rite closely with little, if any, deviation. Occasionally the priest includes sections in English. The main service is a solemn event and can last as long as four hours. Why does the rite takes so long to celebrate here? To begin with, congregational singing forms the backbone of any black religious ceremony, and the Anglican Church is no exception. The services at St Cyprian's are fully laden with hymnody, psalmody and traditional sacred songs. Alone, these musical offerings account for the bulk of the service. Preaching does not consume more time than in white or coloured parishes (about twenty minutes). However, since Sunday mornings are the only times when large sections of the community gather together, church services are also occasionally used to impart important community messages. These messages are usually couched much like a sermon, referencing biblical texts and Christian tradition. Topics include child care, hygiene, hospitality, women's rights, etc. They can be as long as the sermon, and are usually delivered by lay church leaders and from women's groups like the Anglican Women's Fellowship (AWF). Formal prayers for members of the congregation also form a large component of worship. If a family or person is leaving on a long journey, or someone is ill, they are called to the front after the peace greeting and the priest prays for them individually. Likewise, after the administration of Communion, individual members come to the rail for personal prayer. The priest himself prays with each person. It is these extra-liturgical activities which also add to the length of the service, but all of them contribute in some way to the building of community: singing, praying, and teaching. This is in full accordance with the Xhosa notion of *Ubuntu* (community living).<sup>34</sup>

Black parishes tend to be fairly open to ecumenical involvement. It is not unusual for clergy or lay preachers from other denominations to be invited to preach. Similarly, the church organisations such as AWF or the Christian Men's Society (CMS) often invite speakers from other denominations.

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<sup>34</sup> Tutu: "*Ubuntu* recognises that human beings need each other for survival and well-being. A person is a person only through other persons, we say. We must care for one another in order to thrive" (Tutu, *Made For Goodness*, 15).

At the parish's seventy-fifth celebrations last year, the local Methodist minister was invited to preach at one of the services.

One of the distinctive features of black congregations is their colourful uniforms. At St Cyprian's members of the Mother's Union wear distinctive purple blouses, black skirts and a black hat. Men who are members of the Church Men's Society wear a black suit with a purple waist coat. Uniforms denote a sense of belonging and community, and it is no surprise that the culture of *Ubuntu* has been adopted by the church in this way.

### Music staff

St Cyprian's does not have an organ or a piano, neither does it employ a particular musician for leading worship. All the directors, cantors and choir members are volunteers. The choir directors have all been self-trained, or nurtured by older choir masters who have noticed their musical abilities.

Community singing is highly valued in black society. Thus, much of the music which is sung at weekly services is *koinoniac*. Additionally, the communal nature of each musical event is high-lighted in the way it is often performed (unaccompanied in four-part harmony), i.e. each person in the community is required to ensure the full potential of rich choral harmony. That being noted, much of the music included in the Eucharistic services is integrally linked with the liturgy. In this sense the music at St Cyprians can be described as *leitourgic*. Since these roles are of equal importance in the community, it would be unwise to characterise the worship using just one of these terms. Thus the worship is both *koinoniac* and *leitourgic*.

### **St Michael and All Angel's, Observatory**

St Michael's is well known as the bastion of Anglo-Catholic worship throughout the diocese. It is one of the few parishes in the Province which still uses the SAPB at its services. The church attracts a mixed congregation of about one hundred and fifty parishioners per week. The majority are over the age of fifty.

### Worship

There are usually two services on a Sunday at the parish: Low Mass at 8:00am (with no music) and High Mass<sup>35</sup> at 10:30am. Additionally, on the first Sunday of the month the choir sings Solemn

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<sup>35</sup> Large portions of a Solemn Mass, or *Missa Solemnis*, are sung. Modern terminology for it, that is, High Mass indicates the same procedure. In practice the High Mass at St Michael's is always sung, but not always led by the choir.

Evensong at 7pm. The worship at St Michael's is formal and the ceremonial is carefully orchestrated. Anglo-Catholic elements include full genuflection,<sup>36</sup> bowing when the name of Jesus is mentioned, eastward celebration of the Mass, male-dominated leadership and the occasional use of Latin. The parish has chosen to use the designation "Mass" as opposed to "Eucharist" or "Communion" for their principal services. The ceremonial confirms the theological implications inherent in this term. Other elements of Anglo-Catholicism are clearly evident in the furnishings of the church: a statue of Mary is prominent at the crossing and a font holding holy water at the door of the church.

The Use of the SAPB rite is unique at St Michael's. Father Girdwood, the rector, uses Lamburn's *Ritual Notes*<sup>37</sup> and Fortesque and O'Connor's *The Roman Rite Described*<sup>38</sup> to illumine the Use and to prepare for special liturgical celebrations.<sup>39</sup> At first glance it would appear that St Michael's has deliberately rejected contemporary liturgical change, but this is not true. Like many other parishes, they too have found the SAPB rite less than satisfactory. As a substitute for SAPB, Father Binns, one of the parish's past rectors, designed a rite based loosely on BCP 1549. This rite was approved for use by Archbishop Robert Selby Taylor.<sup>40</sup> In a memorandum which Binns submitted to the liturgical committee in the 1970's, he indicated at that stage that he was not averse to liturgical change, in fact, he showed a great affinity towards Dix's *Shape of the Liturgy*<sup>41</sup> and a number of the Liturgical Movement's other ideals. He preferred the more ancient shape of the Eucharist where, for example, the Gloria appeared after the Kyrie, rather than after the administration of communion – an Anglican peculiarity in BCP 1552 and 1662. He also adapted other elements of the SAPB rite to suit the parish's Anglo-Catholic stance, e.g. the Angelus concludes the communion rite.<sup>42</sup> Another example is at the sung office of Evensong, where the service of Benediction is always added. Some of the positive aspects of liturgical renewal, such as the offertory procession and the giving of the Peace have also been included in the Use of the parish. All these changes appear to have encouraged full congregational participation. Furthermore, it is obvious that the parish has embraced the Mass as the principal service on any given Sunday. This signals an affinity, however distant, with the Parish Eucharist Movement. In fact, one of the only aspects of the modern Liturgical

<sup>36</sup> This is in contrast to the more informal "simple bow" characteristic of most clergy in the diocese.

<sup>37</sup> Lamburn, C E R. *Ritual Notes: A Comprehensive Guide to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer of the English Church*. London: Knott, 1935.

<sup>38</sup> Fortescue, Adrian, J B O'Connell and Alcuin Reid. *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*. St Michael's Abbey Press, 2003.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Richard Girdwood.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Richard Girdwood.

<sup>41</sup> Dix, Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. New York: Seabury Press, 1982.

<sup>42</sup> See Binns, *A Study of the Proposed Alternative Forms of the South African Liturgy* (Anglican Archives AB 727f).

Movement which St Michael's has rejected is the use of contemporary English. Here, as Father Girdwood points out, the parish has retained old English as a respectful and dignified manner of discourse appropriate for the worship of an almighty God.<sup>43</sup> The adapted rite is contained in a small companion book to SAPB, which is provided in the pews of the church.

It appears that there is respect for the APB, particularly on the part of the clergy at the parish. Father Girdwood himself wrote of the possibility of interpreting APB Eucharistic rite in terms of transubstantiation.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, he has written of APB's Catholic ethos in the parish magazine.<sup>45</sup> In fact, the Easter Triduum rites at St Michael's closely reflect APB.

Occasionally the parish raises the eye-brows of their Anglican brethren elsewhere in the diocese. For example, on 6 June 2010 they commemorated the unification of South Africa. Although the Union effectively gave South Africa its present geographical shape, it also sowed the seeds of what would become apartheid. However, this was no ordinary commemoration – it was an act of holy remembering. The archbishop, who could not be present at the service, elaborated in his insightful pastoral letter to the congregation for the occasion,

... Your marking of this anniversary at St Michael and All Angels helps show to the world the 'holy remembering' which Christians are uniquely placed to engage in, as we look back on the chequered past of our country, and find in it the seeds of hope.

Our faith enables us to dare to be honest about ambiguous events such as the Union of South Africa. It was in many respects an unsatisfactory compromise at best, even though it brought solutions to other painful issues of that era. Many who supported it recognised its limitations at the time, but nonetheless hoped it might be a potential stepping stone to a better future. Yet as we know, these hopes were not realised and its provisions were twisted to far worse ends.

But we dare to engage in holy remembering, because we remember as those who belong to Jesus Christ, Saviour and Lord, who suffered for our redemption.<sup>46</sup>

Indeed, the service proved to be as much a time for healing as remembering.

Music is an essential component of worship at St Michael's, and is used to great effect in the liturgical celebrations of the parish. The church is blessed with superb musical resources, including a four-manual organ (reputed to be the largest parish organ in Africa), chamber organ, well stocked music library, choir rehearsal room and an *ad hoc* chamber orchestra for special occasions. For this reason the parish has been able to attract a quorum of trained singers.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Richard Girdwood.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Richard Girdwood. He made these statements in a university essay which is not published.

<sup>45</sup> *Icon*, Vol. 6, no. 3 (Michaelmas 2009), 1 - 3.

<sup>46</sup> Pastoral letter from the Archbishop of Cape Town, dated 4 June 2010. The full letter can be found in Appendix R.

### Music staff

Deon Irish is the current organist and choir master. Although he is not a musician by profession, he has a Licentiate from Trinity College, London. He holds the rather impressive title of “Titular Organist and choir master”.<sup>47</sup> In September 2010, Irish received the Order of Simon of Cyrene<sup>48</sup> for his service to the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. Irish volunteers his services to the parish. He and Father Girdwood select the music together, but there is no worship committee to give further input. Father Girdwood has been instrumental in the appointment of an organ scholar. His intention was to train a younger musician in the rigours of church music. Presently, the choir comprises eleven regular members; six female and five male. Other choristers are recruited for larger works and a number of volunteers join the choir for Evensong. Orchestral instrumentalists are hired on an *ad hoc* basis for special occasions.

Services where the choir is present tend towards a *kerygmatic* stance - the choir sings most of the music while the congregation listens. There are moments of *koinoniac* participation: hymn singing, *Credo*, etc. Evensong, in particular, is extremely *kerygmatic*, with only two congregational hymns. The choir only sings on two Sundays a month, on the remaining Sundays a congregational setting of the Eucharist ensures a *koinoniac* approach. In essence, then, there is a balance between *kerygmatic* and *koinoniac* music in any given month. Obviously, liturgical considerations are also extremely important, given the Anglo-Catholic nature of the parish. Thus, overall, the parish is well balanced in all three musical approaches.

### **Christ Church, Kenilworth**

On the opposite side of the Anglican spectrum is Christ Church, Kenilworth – best described, along with several other associated parishes in the area – as the bastion of Evangelicalism. In many senses, Christ Church is a typical Evangelical parish with a thriving congregation, largely white, of well over five hundred. The church attracts a lively group of young people, especially at its evening services, but caters for a wide range of tastes both liturgically and musically.

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<sup>47</sup> This is a reference to the French tradition of the nineteenth century where churches usually employed two organists, one to play the *orgue-de-cheour* and the other to play the grand organ at the West-end of the church. The senior organist was given the honorary title “titular” and could hold the post, in title, until his death. In Mr Irish’s case, the title indicates that he may practice on and play the organ at St Michael’s until his death.

<sup>48</sup> The Order of Simon of Cyrene (established in 1960) is awarded to lay Anglicans for service to the church. Membership of the Order is limited to sixty. It was named after Simon of Cyrene, the first African saint.



## Worship

There are three services on a Sunday: 8am ('traditional' service); 10am (family worship) and 7pm (youth service). Communion is celebrated every Sunday at the 8am services, but only biweekly at the others. The parish chooses to call their Eucharistic ministry 'Holy Communion'. Like St Michael's, this is a deliberate theological statement which situates the church's Eucharistic theology.

Christ Church was at the forefront of the Charismatic Movement in the 1970's and 80's. This has greatly influenced their worship patterns. Liturgically Christ Church can be described as 'low church'. Ceremonial and vestments are viewed with some suspicion, although albs and stoles are worn at the early service. The flexibility of APB allows the parish to experiment quite liberally with the rite without compromising its integrity. Non-eucharistic services do not generally follow any formal Anglican liturgical order such as Morning or Evening Prayer. However, on special occasions, such as Confirmation, the liturgy is strictly adhered to, albeit in a more informal Use.<sup>49</sup> The parish has experimented with new liturgies from the worldwide Anglican Communion, including Kenya's relatively new communion rite.<sup>50</sup> Congregational participation appears to be a priority at all the services. Certainly the singing in the parish is enthusiastic.

Christ Church is an unashamedly Evangelical church. A small notice is stuck into the front cover of their APB which succinctly elucidates their theological position. They reject any reference in the Eucharistic service which intimates that the rite is a sacrificial offering. Instead they focus on the memorial aspect of the celebration. They choose to omit the optional berakoth prayers before the Great Thanksgiving,<sup>51</sup> even though these specific prayers are actually Jewish meal blessings, or grace, not prayers to effect the sacrifice of a Catholic Mass. Additionally, they choose not to use the Third Eucharistic Prayer which is the most Catholic of all the prayers. Finally, the notice points out that they change some aspects of the Fourth Eucharistic Prayer, choosing the words "bring before you" in paragraph 76.<sup>52</sup>

Christ Church does not engage in ecumenical activity in the local community, since historically the church and its associate parishes have shared a rather uncomfortable relationship with the diocese at large. Thus, a definite us/them situation has developed. Nevertheless, a number of their

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<sup>49</sup> The service in 2009 included a full immersion baptism in the parish gardens.

<sup>50</sup> The Kenyan Rite was first published in 1989. For the full text see *A Kenyan Eucharistic Rite* [<http://www.msgr.ca/msgr-3/KENYAEUCHARISTICRITE.html>] accessed 28 January 2011.

<sup>51</sup> See paragraph 50 APB, 116.

<sup>52</sup> APB, 126.

musicians have acted as music 'missionaries', especially to the parish of St Barnabas in Cape Town. Other parishes have also benefitted from their musical ministry.

The parish has been instrumental in developing local talent. At present they run an initiative called the 'Song Forge' designed to encourage local parishioners to compose songs for use in the church. The group meets on the first Monday of every month to introduce and share their new songs. Their principal aims are to identify budding new composers and to create a corpus of material which addresses local issues and preaching themes. A number of songs from this consortium have been accepted into the parish's regular repertoire. Tim Smith, the music director, also composes songs for use at the church.

### Music staff

Tim Smith coordinates and participates in the music programme. He has natural gifts as a singer, performer and composer, but has no formal musical qualifications. Smith is employed full time by Christ Church. Richard Haigh is the organist for the 8am service, although he is involved in accompanying other services too, usually on the piano. He is a highly qualified church musician, holding a Master's degree in music from Southern Methodist University in America. Before he came to Christ Church, he was assistant organist at Incarnation Episcopal Church in Dallas, Texas. He holds a quarter-time position in the parish. A number of other talented musicians volunteer at the parish, including Tony Westwood (who was instrumental in compiling *Praise the Lord*, cf. chapter four) and Matthew Denis.

The parish supports a number of *ad hoc* groups which form for special occasions. The parish orchestra is one of these groups. Richard Haigh, Matthew Denis and Tony Westwood have composed arrangements of hymns, songs and anthems for the orchestra. Last year the group accompanied *Songs of Praise* at St John's Wynberg with Richard Cock at the podium. Richard Haigh has also formed a Chorale of young singers which performs three or four times a year. It is an SATB group which sings a wide variety of contemporary Anglican classics, including anthems by John Rutter. They sang at the parish confirmation service in 2009.

This is the only parish in the diocese (apart from the cathedral) which employs a full-time musician to head its music programme. With someone who is able to devote his full time and energies to organising and preparing worship, they are able to allow ample space for all three types of sacred music. The 8am choir, and the numerous bands and singers are as likely to perform *kerygmatic* music, as they are *koinoniac* and *leitourgic*. Nonetheless, there is a strong tradition of congregational singing within the parish, and this certainly lends a *koinoniac* feel to the atmosphere in services.

## Diocesan College

Diocesan College, or Bishops, as it is more commonly known, is one of the foremost Anglican schools in South Africa. Today the school is divided into three sections: pre-preparatory, preparatory and college. These three categories are equivalent to the government school divisions of pre-primary, primary and secondary respectively. The pre-preparatory and preparatory schools are not as actively involved in the daily routine of worship in the school, although they do celebrate special occasions in the main college chapel several times a term. The bulk of the worshipping community is made up of the college learners.

### Worship

The college's history runs parallel with that of the Diocese of Cape Town, having been established by Bishop Gray a few years after he arrived in Cape Town (see chapter six). These days, although chapel services form the focus of daily events at the college, the Tractarian ideals of worship are no longer followed. The weekday services (usually 8am) tend to be shortened versions of Morning Prayer, with a psalm and hymn. They are completely congregational in nature, with the choir leading the singing. Attendance for college boys is compulsory for these prayer services.

The college chaplain officiates at a number of optional services in addition to the daily college prayers. On Sundays during term time a Eucharist alternates with an Evening Prayer service at 6:30pm. There is no choral leadership for these services, except when there is a compulsory college Evensong,<sup>53</sup> but hymns form an integral part of the worship. Every Wednesday there is a said Eucharist at 7am.

APB forms the basis for liturgical celebrations in the school. However, SAPB is still used for college Evensong once a term. This is not unusual. There is a definite precedent for retaining SAPB for choral Evensong throughout the diocese (cf. St Michael's and St George's services reported earlier in this chapter). APB Evening Prayer has never been widely accepted as a sung service, although there are a number of exceptions throughout the Province. The ceremonial at the college chapel is fairly subdued. All the clergy, lay ministers and servers are robed for services, and there is a procession (with crucifer and acolytes) for Eucharist and college Evensong. Thus the college ethos could be described loosely as broad church. However, the present chaplain at the school has a high view of

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<sup>53</sup> There is evensong every Sunday in the chapel, but school boys are only required to attend once a term.

the Eucharist, and displays this in his gestures throughout Eucharistic services. Additionally, he requested that a Light of the Presence be installed in the sanctuary.<sup>54</sup>

The college presents a number of services which are not bound to the Anglican Prayer Book tradition. The annual Vespers service is an example. Loosely based on Evensong, it includes a rich variety of liturgical sources, mostly from the Roman Catholic tradition, such as *Benedictine Daily Prayer*.<sup>55</sup> Plainsong, Anglican chant and devotional anthems form the musical basis for these services.

Being a wealthy independent school, Bishops has phenomenal musical resources. During Garmon Ashby's tenure, a choir loft for rehearsing was created above the theatre. It houses an extensive choral library of Anglican choral music. Additionally, the college has three organs. The largest one is housed in the Memorial Chapel. Now a three manual instrument, it began its life as a smaller instrument.<sup>56</sup> Successive music directors have added ranks, but it still retains much of its original character. Many recitalists, both local and international, have performed on the organ over the years. The Brooke Chapel houses a smaller mechanical action instrument which was purchased in 1988.<sup>57</sup> More recently in 2002, the school purchased a chamber organ from Dr Barry Smith. It has been placed in the side chapel of the Memorial Chapel, and is used for orchestral mass settings and other chamber pieces.<sup>58</sup> There is also a grand piano in the chapel.

### Music staff

Mark Mitchell is the Director of Music at Bishops. His musical qualifications have already been listed earlier in this chapter. He trains the choir and supervises the chapel organ students, as well as running the general music programme for the school. Recently he was appointed as one of the school's deputy principals. This is the first time in the school's history that the music master has held this position. All of the other full-time music staff contribute in some way to chapel services, by

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<sup>54</sup> Author's personal experience.

<sup>55</sup> *Benedictine Daily Prayer: A Short Breviary*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2005.

<sup>56</sup> The original instrument was a Rushworth and Draper. The organ was restored and enlarged a number of times by the 'Organ Builders', a local organ building company, originally trading under the name Cooper, Gill and Thomkins. See *Music Facilities* [<http://college.bishops.org.za/Culture/Music/Facilities.aspx>] accessed 28 January 2011.

<sup>57</sup> This beautiful 19<sup>th</sup> century organ, built by the English firm Gray, was originally housed in All Saints Church, King William's Town. The wood work was restored by Tim Hamilton-Smith and Garmon Ashby. See *Music Facilities* [<http://college.bishops.org.za/Culture/Music/Facilities.aspx>] accessed 28 January 2011.

<sup>58</sup> This particular chamber organ was built by Jimmy Riadore for Dr Smith in 1972. Originally designed as a house organ, it spent much of its early life at St George's Cathedral, accompanying the orchestral masses there. See *Music Facilities* [<http://college.bishops.org.za/Culture/Music/Facilities.aspx>] accessed 28 January 2011.

preparing their students for performance, leading chapel singing practices, etc. Bishops offers a Post Matric (Sixth Form) organ scholarship, called the Claude Brown Organ Scholarship<sup>59</sup> for aspiring young church musicians. At present there is no holder of this award. A number of the boys who learn organ at the college assist Mitchell by accompanying anthems and canticles. The college maintains a chapel choir of approximately fifty boys. A number of trebles are sourced from the preparatory school, but the altos, tenors and basses are all drawn from the college.

The main focus at the college chapel services is congregational participation. Certainly the chapel choir prepares and performs at special services, and this is greatly enjoyed by the boys and visitors. But in general, there is a *koinoniac* ambiance in the chapel. *Leitourgic* music, although included at Eucharist services, is not as common, since the bulk of chapel worship is a simplified form of Morning Prayer. Additionally, most major Christian festivals occur outside the normal school terms.

### Summary

In general, the diocese as a whole tends to favour *leitourgic* music, while individual parishes have slightly differing stances, some with well-balanced outlooks, others with slightly more pronounced tastes for *kerygmatic* or *koinoniac* music. All parishes maintain that the principal role of music is to worship God. However, rather than representing any particular theological trait, it appears that the role of music is usually to delineate a particular style of worship. In other words, music is used to support a particular worship ethos.

Thus, hymns and choral music are directed at the older generation, while, songs and bands are used for younger people. Since the Anglican Church usually attracts middle-aged to older members, hymns and choral music tend to be fairly popular. However, because many clergy are trying to attract younger people, there is a definite push for musicians to include songs, rather than hymns, and to establish bands to lead worship. This is probably why sung Evensong has died away: while the choir and organ remain in the morning services, younger folk who wish to experiment with newer musical styles often participate in the evening service. With no place to sing Evensong, choirs spend all of their energy on choral music for the Eucharist.

Since there is such strong pressure these days in the church to attract the younger generation, it is likely that newer styles will become more and more important. Actually, given that the role of music is to attract certain people, issues such as churchmanship may become secondary. For example, a

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<sup>59</sup> The previous Director of Music, Garmon Ashby, established this scholarship in the late 1990's. His aim was to encourage young organists to spend a year honing their skills as church musicians in the hope that they would enrich the church's musical future. The scholarship is named after Dr Claude Brown, one of Bishops' past music directors. Interview with Mark Mitchell.

more Catholic-oriented parish may opt for a band and singing group to lead their worship. The style of music makes no real difference to the ceremonial and, therefore the theological stance of the congregation.

Is the role of music different in homogenous and heterogeneous congregations? Certainly in black congregations the role of music is unique. In these congregations music carries most of the service. Beyond this, music serves as a bonding agent within the parish - each congregant taking the responsibility to pass on the musical tradition (through part teaching) to succeeding generations. On a corporate level this does not happen in mixed, white or coloured congregations.

Music, then, serves a host of different roles within particular circumstances. In the next two chapters, parish repertoires are discussed in more detail to discover how things have changed since the introduction of newer liturgies.

University of Cape Town



## Chapter Eight

### Repertoire and Musical Sources in the Diocese of Cape Town

...not only the great and lasting music of the past but also the ordinary and transient music of today - which is the background to the lives of so many - has a rightful place in our worship.<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

As an introduction to the discussion of current repertoire trends in the diocese, it is necessary to give an overview of the current sources of music in parishes and schools. Those churches with choirs tend to maintain choral libraries, while church bands often keep files of their current repertoire available for Sunday services. Few individual parishes keep consistent detailed records of the music that is sung and played from week to week. In most cases it has proved difficult to trace musical activity, except for those special occasions when the musical items are printed together with the liturgy in an order of service. Usually at least one of these bulletins is kept in the church office. But even then, parishes are inconsistent when deciding which documents to keep. There are some churches which have maintained consistent music lists, and these are valuable. Some of them are available in the appendix. While it is difficult to formulate an exact repertoire list for the diocese, it is possible to gain a general idea of the musical trends throughout the diocese. The endeavour of this chapter is exactly that: to document and discuss the types of repertoire which are routinely performed in parishes around the diocese. The *modus operandi* in this chapter will be to present separate genres of music (e.g. hymnody, psalmody, anthems, etc.), list the sources which are commonly available within the diocese and then to discuss their content.

#### Terminology

In the following chapter we encounter several genres of music which are characterised by their own terminology. For the purposes of this section, a hymn is a strophic, rhymed and metred text; while a song is poetically free, sometimes in the style of modern pop songs, sometimes direct biblical text. In other words, the hymn follows formal poetical norms, while the song is more informal. Note that this is a textual definition. The music which accompanies the words does not define the genre per se.

The word “contemporary” is not to be confused always with the “song” genre. Robb Redman clarifies this issue clearly:

In the minds of many, ‘contemporary’ means new music, while ‘traditional’ means old (and old sounding) music. Contemporary is probably not the best term to use in describing the new music of the worship awakening. It comes from the Latin and means ‘with or at the

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<sup>1</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *A Brief History of Christian Music*, 412.



time'. When used regarding music, the broadest sense of the word 'contemporary' includes anything composed recently.<sup>2</sup>

Since this chapter deals with contemporary hymnody as well as more popular styles, I prefer Redman's broader meaning of the word. In fact, I have avoided the popular connotations of the phrase "contemporary" music altogether.<sup>3</sup>

When talking about music, the author has regarded functional harmony as "western". Thus a hymn tune such as CWM RHONDDA ("Guide me, O thou great Redeemer") can be considered "western". In contrast, harmonic styles which mirror or absorb local Southern African elements are referred to as "ethnic". Of course, the characteristics of true ethnic Southern African music are debatable, since colonialism and mission Christianity largely destroyed the local music traditions. Nonetheless, there are discernible Southern African traits in music which are distinctly local. For example, ethnic Xhosa music often oscillates two adjacent major chords, i.e. G major, A major, G major, A major, etc. Rhythmically the pattern 3 + 3 + 2 quavers is often favoured in local music. Thus, there are elements which can be called local or ethnic.

Another important question is: what makes a hymn or a song local, the text or the music? I have tried to be as specific as possible when it comes to this question. If the composer of a text or a tune is a South African citizen, either by birth or naturalisation, I have considered their work "local". But what if a hymn or a song has a western text and a South African tune? In these cases I have separated the tune and text and labelled them separately for clarity's sake.

Stylistically, throughout this text "western" refers to European and American genres or norms. Thus, these are pieces which use western metaphorical imagery, thought concepts, logic or melody/harmony as a basis. This term also includes the western bias of a winter Christmas, etc. Textually a western hymn would be one which is based on the western tradition of choral and hymn writing, taking western poetical models into consideration. A western song is one that follows the conventions of popular song writing techniques, either in form or in musical content. In contrast, ethnic hymns and songs are works which use local imagery and employ local (or localised) literary techniques and musical accents. Sometimes a South African composer may write in a western style, in which case his/her music is local, but in "western" style.

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<sup>2</sup> Redman, *The Great Worship Awakening*, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Other authors tend to use the popular connotation quite freely, probably because of its common usage in western society. Thus Brian Wren, in his *Praying Twice*, refers regularly to "Contemporary worship music" (see Wren, *Praying Twice*, 127 - 166.) and even members of the British Joint Liturgical Group use this term (see *Singing the Faith*, 50).

Since popular styled music is discussed in this chapter, it is prudent to mention some important facets of this genre very briefly here. Note the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter. It suggests that there is a place for “the ordinary and transient music of today” in worship. In its original context “ordinary and transient music” refers to Christian “pop”. But why is this music so temporary? Modern pop songs, often classed in the genres of “gospel” or “Christian pop”, are quite frequently based on musical trends in the secular world. In the last thirty years, a whole music industry has appeared to support these particular genres.<sup>4</sup> In an effort to remain “up-to-date” with the popular taste, music publishers and recording agents tend to promote a rapid turnover of new Christian music. One is tempted to wonder if it is sometimes in order to remain financially competitive. As a result, the popularity of new songs is fairly short-lived, especially in the younger generation. Examples of this will be discussed below.<sup>5</sup>

### Hymnody

The diocese has a fairly limited selection of hymn books. By far the most ubiquitous is the *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (AM) series. Most parishes use the “New Standard” version (first published in 1983), while a few still prefer the “Revised” version (1950). The newest edition of the series, *Common Praise* (published in 2000), has not taken root in the diocese, probably because of the large financial outlay required to furnish a church with new books. Related to the series, is the Xhosa *Iculo Lase-Tschetshi Ne-Ngoma*, which is heavily based on the 1924 version of AM, but which is published locally by the Liturgical Committee. Its genesis has already been discussed in chapter four. The *Songs of Fellowship* (SOF) series, now amounting to four separate albums of over 2100 hymns and songs, is also exceptionally popular, although most parishes only have the first two albums. Each of the four successive editions was published by Kingsway Music in 1991, 1998, 2003 and 2007 respectively. *Mission Praise*, also called *Living Praise* (1983), and *Hymns for Today’s Church* (1982), were both produced by the Jubilate Group. These two books are used in a few Evangelical parishes, but their use is not widespread. The *English Hymnal* (first published in 1906), popular elsewhere in the diocese, has not been as successful in the Cape.

The “Revised” edition of AM, with 623 hymns, contains a broad range of western hymnody. While it includes translations of continental Reformation hymnody from Germany and France, and earlier Latin and Greek hymnody from the medieval period, it cannot be argued that the collection attempts in any way to include ethnic music from any of the British colonies in which it was widely used. In other words, the collection, both textually and musically, is thoroughly western. In the South African

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<sup>4</sup> See Redman, *The Great Worship Awakening*, chapter three for details about the Christian music industry.

<sup>5</sup> Redman discusses Christian “pop” music in depth. See Redman, *The Great Worship Awakening*.

context, the only hymn which is specifically related to local Anglican history is 255 “The Church’s one foundation” - this hymn was written in response to the Colenso controversy. Nevertheless, since nothing was forthcoming in the local arena in the way of English hymnody, AM proved extremely popular throughout Southern Africa. Parishes in the diocese, which still use this hymnal tend to supplement it quite heavily with more modern hymnody, either printed in the weekly pew leaflet, or in a self-published compilation. From interviews, it appears that parishes using this book do not have sufficient financial means to buy newer editions.<sup>6</sup> One parish did indicate that it was raising the necessary funds to supply the parish with *Common Praise*.

The “New Standard” version contains the 333 most popular hymns from the “Revised” edition, with an additional 200 newer hymns which were published separately as *100 Hymns for Today* and *More Hymns for Today* (both supplements originally intended for the “Revised” version). These two supplements include a significant selection of hymnody which addresses modern theological and social issues - some are bold enough to tackle racism (e.g. 376 “In Christ there is no east”, see example 1) and the “other” (e.g. 433 “When I needed a neighbour”). While guarded, the hymn writers even comment on science and religion, e.g. 469 “God, you have given us power” (see example 1). In many cases, the hymns in these supplements are in contemporary English, but issues such as gender inclusive language are not actively addressed. Like the “Revised” edition, there is no textual or musical content from beyond the west. Except for three hymns concerning race relations, very few South African issues are dealt with in any depth. On a more superficial level, there is nothing to cater for a Southern Hemisphere Christmas in the summer, or an Easter which falls in the middle of autumn. This being noted, the hymnal is beloved and is a staple for Anglican worship in the diocese. In the areas where it proves inadequate textually, parishes such as St Stephen’s in Pinelands have tended to paste a few additional hymns on the inside of the covers of the book. These additions will be discussed further below. Other parishes have supplemented “New Standard” with hymnals which include modern praise songs and other ecumenical favourites.

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<sup>6</sup> Interview with Rev. Girdwood.

Example 1: Two hymns from *Hymns Ancient and Modern (New Standard)*

In Christ there is no east or west,  
in him no south or north,  
but one great fellowship of love  
throughout the whole wide earth.

In him shall true hearts everywhere  
their high communion find;  
his service is the golden cord,  
close binding all mankind.

Join hands, then, brothers of the faith,  
whate'er your race may be;  
who serves my Father as a son  
is surely kin to me.

In Christ now meet both east and west,  
in him meet south and north;  
all Christlike souls are one in him,  
throughout the whole wide earth.

Hymn 376  
Text by John Oxenham (1852 - 1941)

God, you have giv'n us power to sound  
depths hitherto unknown:  
to probe earth's hidden mysteries,  
and make their might our own.

Great are your gifts: yet greater far  
this gift, O God, bestow,  
that as to knowledge we attain  
we may in wisdom grow.

Let wisdom's godly fear dispel  
all fears that hate impart;  
give understanding to the mind,  
and with new mind new heart.

So for your glory and our good  
may we your gifts employ,  
lest, maddened by the lust of power,  
we shall ourselves destroy.

Hymn 469  
Text by G. W. Briggs (1875 - 1959)

Traditionally black congregations in the Diocese of Cape Town sing from the Xhosa Anglican hymn book *Iculo Lase-Tshetshi Ne-Ngoma*. This is the only truly local Anglican hymn book in the diocese. Of all the local material, Ntsikana's "Great Hymn" is the most significant (see example 2). Theologically it attempts to situate Christianity within Xhosa thought patterns, using local images to portray the creation and the redemptive act of Jesus on the cross. Of particular interest is Ntsikana's use of the images of God as a hunter and as a "Great Blanket". The hunter image is one of God's active work in the world, i.e. God is the one who seeks people out, or God is working his purposes out. God as a "Great Blanket" is a picture of a protecting and nurturing deity. Note must also be made of the metaphorical picture of flocks being reconciled - a pastoral image well-known to Xhosa herders. A close look at the literary style reveals that there is no rhyming scheme. In fact, this technique is not necessary in Xhosa verse. There is a regular metre - most of the lines are twelve syllables long. Musically, it is thoroughly Xhosa, using a characteristic falling melodic line (pentatonic) and an oscillating major-chord harmonic texture which imitates the *uhudi* bow.<sup>7</sup> Thus, this is an example of Xhosa invention theologically and musically. However, this trend did not continue with other hymn authors and tune composers. Certainly, there are other texts by Xhosa clergy (Rev J M Dwane, Rev. W Gcwensa, Rev. E J Manzana, Rev. V C Mayaba, Rev. W W Mjokozeli, J Ntsiko, Rev. A G Nyovane, Rev. Tiyo Soga and Rev. J J Xaba), but these contributions, in contrast to Ntsikana's, are far more westernised. They tend to reflect general theological themes of the early twentieth century.

<sup>7</sup> The *uhudi* bow is a Xhosa instrument which is made from an arched stick on which is strung only one string. An empty calabash is usually attached to the stick to enhance resonance. The string is struck with a small stick, and the player can influence the pitch of the note by "stopping" the string with his/her finger.

Poetically, they are all written in metres which can twin with western tunes. Often they are rhymed in couplets too, which is foreign to traditional Xhosa poetry (see example 3). This represents adoption textually - using a foreign concept in a local situation. The number of local tunes is far less representative. *Birkett's Ngoma* features significantly with fourteen tunes, but while these tunes sometimes have Xhosa names, they are written using functional harmony in four parts (see example 4).<sup>8</sup> John Knox Bokwe, Rev. R R Chope and Rev. C Nyombolo each contributed one tune. All these tunes reflect the Victorian musical education local Xhosas were receiving, particularly at Lovedale Missionary Station in the Eastern Cape.<sup>9</sup> Chope's tune, for example, used western functional harmony and regular rhythmic patterns found in contemporary western hymnody (see example 5). Essentially Xhosa composers were adopting western compositional methods. The hymnal was revised in 1975 to include local settings of the *Gloria* and *Credo*.

So much has happened to enrich Xhosa church music in the past thirty years, particularly in the Roman Catholic Church. It seems a pity that Xhosa Anglicans have not updated their official hymnal to reflect these changes.

Example 2: Ntsikana's Hymn<sup>10</sup>



Ulo Thixo omkhulu, ngosezulwini;  
Ungu Wena-wena Kaka lenyaniso.  
Ungu Wena-wena Nqaba yenyanyiso.  
Ungu Wena-wena Hlati lenyaniso.  
Ungu Wena-wen 'uhlel'enyangwaneni

Ulo dal' ubom, wadala pezulu.  
Lo Mdal' owadala wadala izulu.  
Lo Menzi wenkwenkwezi noZilimela.  
Yabinza inkwenkwezi, isixelela.  
Lo Menzi wemfaman' uzenza ugabom?

Lateta ixilongo lisibizile.  
Ulonqin' izingela imipefumlo.  
Ulohlanganis' imihlamb' eyalanayo  
Ulonkokeli wasikokela tina.  
Ulungub' inkul' esiyambata tina.

*You are the Great God who dwells in the heavens.  
You are the true shield.  
You are the true fortress.  
You are the true forest (of refuge).  
It is you who dwells in the highest.*

*You created life, you created on high.  
You are the creator who created the heavens.  
You created the stars and the Pleiades.  
A Star flashed forth, bringing us your message.  
You created the blind - did you not create them for a purpose?*

*The trumpet has sounded, it has called for us.  
You are the hunter who hunts souls.  
You gather together flocks rejecting each other.  
You, the leader, who has led us.  
You are the Great Blanket with which we are clothed.*

<sup>8</sup> This was a collection of one hundred tunes, all in tonic sol-fa, published in 1871. Birkett was one of the tonic sol-fa pioneers of early South Africa. He worked extensively with the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape.

<sup>9</sup> Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, 42.

<sup>10</sup> Xhosa words: Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, 47; English translation: Hawn, *Gather Into One*, 132 – 34; Tune transcribed from tonic sol-fa by the author.

Ozandia Zako zinamanxeba Wena.  
 Onyawo Zako zinamanxeba Wena.  
 Ugazi Lako limrolo yinina?  
 Ugazi Lako lipalalele tina.  
 Lemali enkulu-na siyibizile?  
 Lomzi Wako-na-na siwubizile?

*Your hands are wounded.  
 Your feet are wounded.  
 Your blood - why is it streaming?  
 Your blood was poured out for us.  
 Are we worthy of such a ransom?  
 Are we worthy to enter your homestead?*

Example 3: *Niyabizwa, bantu nonke* by W W Mjokozeli<sup>11</sup>

Niyabizwa, bantu nonke,  
 Ngu-Mkùluli wenu,  
 Uti, "Yizani kum ninke,  
 Nemitwalo yenu."

*Your saviour is calling all people,  
 "Come to me all of you who are burdened."*

Unamandla onke Yena  
 Okunikùlula,  
 Unenceba yonke Yena  
 Anganixolela.

*He has all the power to set your free;  
 His mercy is sufficient;  
 he is able to forgive.*

Yesu, amatyala etu  
 Uz' uwaxolele,  
 Yiva umtandazo wetu,  
 Usisikelele.

*Lord, forgive us all our sin;  
 hear our prayer and bless us.*

Hlamba intliziyo zetu  
 Ngelo-Gazi lako,  
 Yomelez' ukólo lwetu,  
 Ngalo-Moya wako.

*Cleanse our hearts with your blood.  
 Strengthen our faith with your Holy Spirit.*

Masikonze Wena ngoko  
 Apa emhlabeni,  
 Side size pambi kwako  
 Apo e-Zulwini. Amen.

*Let us all praise you all of us who are on earth  
 until we come before you in heaven. Amen.*

Example 4: Tune THABA NCHU from *Birkett's Ingoma 1871*<sup>12</sup>

THABA NCHU

The musical score for 'Thaba Nchu' is presented in two systems. The first system contains the first four measures, and the second system contains the next four measures. The music is written for piano, with a treble and bass staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The melody is primarily in the treble staff, while the bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

<sup>11</sup> *Iculo Lase-Tshetshi Ne-Ngoma*, 236 (hymn 235), translated by Anastasia Mtshiselwa.

<sup>12</sup> *Iculo Lase-Tshetshi Ne-Ngoma*, 2 (Hymn 3).

Example 5: Tune ST CYPRIAN by Rev. R R Chope (1862)<sup>13</sup>

*Songs of Fellowship* (SOF) is also popular and is often used in tandem with AM “New Standard”. Part of the reason for the popularity of SOF in Anglican parishes is that it provides popular hymns such as “To God be the glory”, “How great thou art”, “And can it be”, “When we walk with the Lord” and “What a friend we have in Jesus”, which were not included in AM. None of these hymns reflect the most recent theological trends represented in APB, however, the tunes which accompany them are much loved and often requested.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, jaunty tunes, such as CAMBERWELL for “At the name of Jesus”, are included alongside the standard Anglican ones. Often these newer tunes are not set in four-part harmony, and are usually written with the piano in mind (see CAMBERWELL AND EVELYNS compared in example 6). Another benefit is that SOF includes numerous standard carols which are not available in AM: “Away in a manger” (36), “Silent night” (498), “The first noel” (529), “Infant lowly” (1350) and “What child is this” (1595), for example. Like AM, the first edition of SOF is representative of western hymnody and the most popular worship songs, such as “Be still for the presence of the Lord” (40), “Brother, let me be your servant” (52), “From heaven you came” (120), “You shall go out with joy” (640) - see examples 7 and 8. The second and third editions reveal a more sensitive stance towards world music, and include three Southern African songs, “We are marching in the light of God (Siyahamba)” (1076), “Come all you people” (1201) and “Hallelujah, hosanna” (1255) - see example 9. What is discernible in successive editions is that classical western hymnody has gradually lost prominence (146 hymns in the first edition down to 2 in the fourth edition). However, the contemporary hymnody, represented in the second and third edition, has been well received. Newer authors and composers such as Stuart Townsend, Keith Getty, John Bell and Martin Leckebusch are well represented. Also, a number of Taizé<sup>15</sup> songs are included in the first, second

<sup>13</sup> *Iculo Lase-Tshetshi Ne-Ngoma*, 216 (Hymn 214).

<sup>14</sup> Personal experience of the author.

<sup>15</sup> Taizé-styled music is discussed later in this chapter.

and third editions. Theologically, SOF represents more conservative Christianity, favouring texts which highlight Evangelical ideals, although it must be noted that the third edition includes voices such as John Bell and Sydney Carter, who are definitely not Evangelical theologically.<sup>16</sup> The SOF series represents an interesting trend in western congregational music: the newer “praise” repertoire is quite transitory, often only fulfilling worship needs for three to five years before disappearing. In the diocese, since most churches only use the first two books, the repertoire is far more stable. For example, a song such as “The power of your love” (895) which was popular in overseas charismatic churches in the mid 1990’s has gradually declined in the past fifteen years. However, in Cape Town, this song is still beloved in parishes. In fact, it has become such a firm favourite that it is requested at funerals and weddings by young and old alike.<sup>17</sup>

Example 6: Tunes for *At the name of Jesus* in SOF<sup>18</sup>

CAMBERWELL

At the name of Je - sus ev - 'ry knee shall bow,

EVELYNS

At the name of Je - sus ev - 'ry knee shall bow,

Example 7: Be still for the presence of the Lord<sup>19</sup>

Be still, for the pre-sence of the Lord, the Ho - ly One is here.

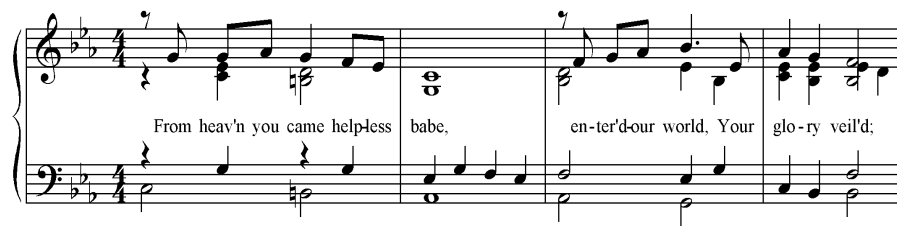
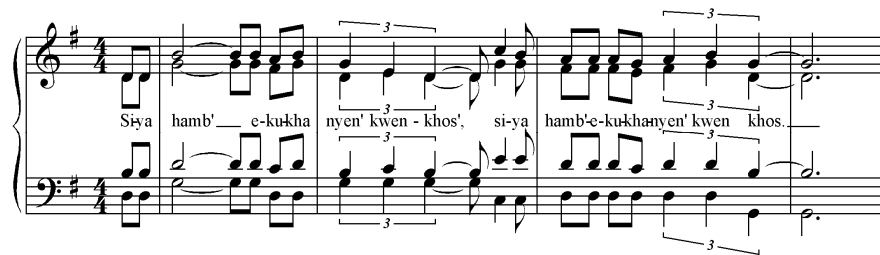
<sup>16</sup> For an introduction to Evangelical thought, see chapter two.

<sup>17</sup> Personal experience of the author.

<sup>18</sup> *Songs of Fellowship* (song 32, first and second tune).

<sup>19</sup> *Songs of Fellowship* (song 40), words and music by David J. Evans.



Example 8: From heaven You came<sup>20</sup>Example 9: We are marching in the light of God (Siyahamba)<sup>21</sup>

In practice, quite a significant number of the songs in SOF are not used in Anglican worship.<sup>22</sup> Notational complexities tend to be the greatest obstacle to performing some of the latest songs - in particular, the complex rhythms of some of the worship songs have proved to be a problem for both musicians and congregations alike. Another difficulty is the adaptability of songs to the organ, which still tends to dominate in many parishes.

*Mission Praise* is a collection of 282 hymns and songs. For a number of parishes it was an alternative to the local publication, *Sing Hosanna* (see chapter four), and in many ways the repertoire of the two books overlap. Like SOF it provides a combination of popular hymnody and worship songs. Successive editions of *Mission Praise* have enlarged the collection to over 1200 songs, but they have tended not to be as popular as SOF in the diocese. *Hymns for Today's Church* has only been popular in a few Evangelical parishes. It was first published in 1982 but was revised in 1987 to include inclusive language. Both of these books are waning in popularity, probably because the parishes in which they are found are tending towards using more contemporary worship songs.

ACSA's publishing department sells hymn books in a number of local languages, and it also distributes AM (both "New Standard" and "Revised"). In addition it issues a local liturgical resource called *Season of Creation* which includes a number of hymns by Dr Norman Habel, a biblical studies professor in Adelaide, Australia. The thirteen hymns are all designed to fit with well-known tunes such as AMAZING GRACE, NUN DANKET and CWM RHONDDA. While the liturgical material of *Season*

<sup>20</sup> *Songs of Fellowship* (song 120), words and music by Graham Kendrick.

<sup>21</sup> *Songs of Fellowship* (song 1076), South African trad., arr. Anders Nyberg.

<sup>22</sup> Personal experience of the author.

*of Creation* has proved popular in congregations, the hymns have not been as successful. Other liturgical resources published by the Province do not include original hymns.

Apart from the standard hymnals and liturgical publications, parishes sometimes draw on local hymns and songs. These local hymns may be used in diocesan services, and then find their way to parishes through clergy and choir directors. They are often used at special occasions, when a service bulletin is printed containing the liturgy and hymnody (the usual hymnbook is therefore not used). In some cases the words and music have not been formally published. In others, they are simply photocopied from various local and international publications. Ironically, much locally composed music is only available in published form in Europe and the United States. These local songs can be divided into two categories: western-styled hymnody and ethnic songs.

The western-styled hymns themselves can be divided into hymns and worship songs. The most popular of the western-styled local hymn texts is “Who will save our land and people” by John Gardiner. Originally composed as a commentary on the spiritual situation during apartheid in 1963, it still challenges worshippers in the new dispensation (see example 10).<sup>23</sup> Gardiner specifically wrote the words to twin with the tune NKOSI YAM. This is a South African Xhosa melody, often used in the Methodist Church for the hymn “Love divine, all loves excelling”. There are several harmonisations of the tune which are used. The one by Barry Smith, included in *A South African Collection*, uses simple functional harmony, with no deliberate intention of capturing the Xhosa provenance of the melody (see example 11). This is an example of a westerner adapting material to suit a particular culture, in this case, ‘white’ congregations. In contrast, the author’s own harmonisation is based on a transcription of a live performance of the tune in the Eastern Cape - the hinterland of Xhosa culture (see example 11). Notice the examples of parallel part movement, so common in Xhosa four-part music. Granted, such a transcription only captures the harmony as it once was sung. Nonetheless, it is a more self-consciously localised version of the tune. Harry Wiggett, a retired Anglican priest and poet, has also contributed a hymn which is sung occasionally: “Dear Son of God begotten of the Father” (see example 12). At the poet’s request, it is sung to the tune STRENGTH AND STAY. A local version of “All things bright and beautiful” has been popular through the years. It retains the familiar tune, but offers six alternative verses which describe typical South African fauna and flora, as well as the African climate (see example 13). Until recently, local Christmas hymns in English have not featured highly. In 2009 the author set the poem “When Jesus came of Mary”, written in the 1960’s by A J T Cook, to a Xhosa-like tune. While the tune is not based

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<sup>23</sup> The hymn was written for a mission in Cape Town and Pretoria given by Dr Alan Walker, an Australian. It was published in *Christian Impact* in the lead up to the mission. In 1970 it was included in the collection *Celebration 70* which was published by the Methodist Youth Department.

on an existing Xhosa melody, it attempts to use characteristic Xhosa melodic and harmonic traits, such as the descending melody in the chorus, and chord  $V^7/IV$  in first inversion. The words describe Christmas in the summer time, and was particularly apt for its time of composition, commenting on the Christian message of brotherly love extending across race lines (see example 14).

Example 10: *Christ Enough* by John Gardiner<sup>24</sup>

Who will save our land and people?  
Who can rescue us from wrong?  
We are lost, faint, false and foolish,  
We have slighted God too long.  
Save the people, Lord our Saviour,  
Guide us home from country far;  
Holy fire, consume our rancour;  
Thy Kingdom come – in Africa.

Make our land as clean and wholesome  
As the white of sea-washed sands;  
Stretch our vision vast and boundless  
As our brown-spread dusty lands.  
Make our people strong and steadfast  
As the hills that claw the sky;  
Hear our prayer for land and people:  
“God bless Africa” we cry.

We believe God is our Saviour:  
Christ enough to heal our land.  
He will use the Church, His servants:  
We on earth His outstretched hand.  
May His church in loving service,  
Show to all whose path is rough;  
Give a clear, united witness  
And proclaim, “Christ is enough”.

Christ enough to break all barriers;  
Christ enough in peace, in strife;  
Christ enough to build our nation.  
Christ enough for death, for life.  
Christ enough for old and lonely;  
Christ enough for those who fall;  
Christ enough to save the sin-sick;  
Christ enough for one – for all.

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<sup>24</sup> Tutu, *An African Prayer Book*, 83 - 4.

Example 11: Two harmonisations of NKOSI YAM by Barry Smith<sup>25</sup> and Andrew-John Bethke<sup>26</sup>

The image displays two musical scores for the song NKOSI YAM. The first score, by Barry Smith, is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. It features a piano accompaniment with a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The second score, by Andrew-John Bethke, is also in 4/4 time and B-flat major. It features a piano accompaniment with a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. Both scores end with a double bar line and repeat dots. The first score is marked 'Fine' and the second is marked 'D.C. al fine'.

<sup>25</sup> A South African Collection, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Author's own arrangement.

Example 12: *A Hymn of Love* by Harry Wiggett<sup>27</sup>

Dear Son of God, begotten of the Father,  
 Giver of life and love to all mankind;  
 Be Thou our source of strength and inspiration  
 That we may love in body, heart and mind.

O Prince of Peace whose presence is forever  
 With all who love Thee through each day and night.  
 Be Thou our calm, our source of deep compassion,  
 When shadows fall be Thou our sense of light.

Shepherd Divine when satan's wiles deceive us,  
 Misguide our thoughts, rob hearts of their true joy;  
 Be Thou our hope, O Lamb for sin once given,  
 Shepherd of sheep Thy healing balm employ.

Great King of kings, Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour,  
 Rule in our hearts, make them for us Thy home;  
 Source of all love and life be ours forever,  
 For us we pray Father Thy Kingdom come.

Example 13: South African version of *All things bright and beautiful*<sup>28</sup>

*All things bright and beautiful  
 All creatures great and small  
 All things wise and wonderful  
 The Lord God made them all.*

The aloe and the vygie  
 The hoepoe and the dove  
 The mealie lands around us  
 They tell of God's great love.

The sheep upon the hillside  
 With lambs who dance in fun  
 The creepy crawly insects  
 Basking in the sun.

The cattle in the cowshed  
 The horses in the stall  
 The turkeys, ducks and chickens  
 Proclaim Your love for all

Raindrops in the gutter  
 Sweet music to the ear  
 Bring hope and joy and comfort  
 With drought no more to fear.

For quiet evening sunset  
 When work is nearly done  
 For family, love and laughter  
 We thank You, Loving One.

For veld and vlei and pasture  
 For crops and summer rain  
 For health and strength and labour  
 We thank You once again.

<sup>27</sup> Wiggett, *Collected Poems 1970 - 2006*, 284.

<sup>28</sup> Author unknown. Typed hymn sheet from St Stephen's, Pinelands.

Example 14: *When Jesus came of Mary* by Rev. A J T Cook and Andrew-John Bethke<sup>29</sup>

THORNHILL Andrew-John Bethke

Verse

Chorus

When Jesus came of Mary  
 The nights were cold and long  
 But here our clime is hot and bright  
 And snow does not belong.

*It matters not the cold or heat  
 Or special nation's place,  
 Christ's here and now for you and me  
 And men of every race.*

The Christmas bells they ring for you  
 Not just in Bethlehem's square,  
 They say to ALL 'your sin is done,  
 And God Himself does care.'

Poinsettias red – cicada's song  
 Are far from holly berry,  
 But on hot flats there's Christmas joy,  
 And Christ-filled hearts are merry.

There are a few popular worship songs, written by South Africans, which are occasionally included in services. The most well known are "Jabulani Africa" and "Bayeti Nkosi" both by Fini de Geisigny, now a pastor in Australia. They are macaronic, with the verses in English and the choruses in Zulu. Often

<sup>29</sup> Author's own composition.

the songs are characterised by special movements. Individual parish bands have, on occasion, written their own songs, but these seldom go further than the parish itself. Christ Church Kenilworth has been experimenting with a 'song forge' which aims to encourage local composers and helps to disseminate their music. This will be discussed in more detail at in the next chapter.

A large range of ethnic songs is available now throughout the country. A number have become especially popular in parishes. The "Masithi Amen" by Stephen Molefe (1921 - 1983) was written in one of Rev David Dargie's composition classes (see example 15).<sup>30</sup> These classes were introduced by the Roman Catholic Church after Vatican II in an effort to encourage localisation. The "Masithi Amen" is usually sung at the end of the Eucharist Prayer. "Siyahamba", a South African traditional church song written by Andries van Tonder, is another favourite. Although it was originally written in Afrikaans, it was translated into Zulu by Thabo Mkize. Today congregations often sing the Zulu verse followed by three additional English ones. It is available in SOF (book two), but more often than not is sung from photocopies of Nyberg's arrangement found in *Freedom is Coming: Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa*.<sup>31</sup> Another song from this collection, which has been used at diocesan services is "Haleluya! Pelo tsa rona" - a Sotho song - with a buoyant tune. Two other songs have been popularised by the local Songs of Praise concerts organised by Richard Cock: "Thuma mina" (Zulu traditional) and "Ukuthula" (Zulu traditional) - see example 16.<sup>32</sup>

Example 15: *Masithi Amen* by Stephen Molefe<sup>33</sup>

Soloist/cantor

1. Ma-si - thi A - men si - ya - ku - du - mi sa. Ma-si - thi A - men si - ya - ku - du - mi -  
 2. A - re - re A - men re - a - o - u - ri sa. A - re - re A - men re - a - o - u - ri -

5

sa. Ma-si - thi A - men Ba - wo. A - men Ba - wo. A - men si - ya - ku - du - mi sa. Ma-si - thi.  
 sa. A - re - re A - men Ta - te. A - men Ta - te. A - men re - a - o - u - ri sa. A - re - re.

<sup>30</sup> For more detailed information about Dargie's composition classes see Hawn, *Gather into One*, 118 - 120.

<sup>31</sup> Nyberg, *Freedom is Coming*.

<sup>32</sup> Information on repertoire and practice comes from the author's personal experience.

<sup>33</sup> Photocopy from parish music library.

Example 16: *Ukuthula* (trad.)<sup>34</sup>

The musical score for 'Ukuthula' is presented in two systems. The first system shows the vocal melody and piano accompaniment for the first two phrases. The second system, starting at measure 5, continues the melody and accompaniment for the remaining phrases. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff and above the piano staff.

### Settings of the Eucharist

Many congregations in the diocese have at least one sung Eucharist per Sunday. By and large the settings they use are in unison, with a few that include four-part harmony for the choir. Most parishes have two or three settings which they alternate from time to time, either weekly, or by liturgical season. There are two categories of Eucharistic settings which are available in the diocese: local and international. As discussed in chapter four, church music in the diocese has followed two courses: one for white and coloured congregations, usually almost entirely western in nature; another for black parishes, which prefer localised hymnody. Thus, I have divided the local settings into two categories: western and Xhosa. However, today many white and coloured parishes also use the Xhosa setting occasionally.

There are at least five local settings which are used fairly frequently at parish level. Barry Smith's setting is for four-part choir and congregation with organ accompaniment (see example 17). In some parishes it is simply sung in unison. Smith was the organist at St George's Cathedral at the time the L75 was introduced. Originally this setting was intended for the cathedral. Rev Owen Franklin contributed two settings, one in English, the other in Afrikaans (see example 18). The English one, in particular, has remained popular since its composition in the late 1970's. Franklin introduced the setting when he moved from Natal to Cape Town. Sections from the Afrikaans setting, usually the

<sup>34</sup> Photocopy from parish music library.



*Kyrie*, are sometimes included at diocesan services. Colin Howard, a local organist and music teacher, wrote a setting for penitential seasons while he was organist at Christ Church, Constantia (see example 19). The setting does not include a *Gloria*, and thus is used during Lent and Advent only. It was designed as a congregational setting, but does include an SATB harmonisation. The author's youthful setting of the Eucharist is sung at a few parishes in the diocese (see example 20). It too was written with congregational participation in mind, but also includes harmonies for the choir. The settings discussed in chapter five, especially in connection with L75, are no longer in vogue. Those written in other parts of the country very seldom made it to Cape Town, and thus there is no living memory of them, and indeed no record what-so-ever of their performance in the diocese.

Example 17: *Kyrie* from *St George's Mass* by Barry Smith.<sup>35</sup>

The musical score is for a Kyrie from St George's Mass by Barry Smith. It is written in 4/4 time and the key of D major (two sharps). The score consists of a vocal line (Soprano/Alto) and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by the lyrics "Lord have mer - cy. Lord have mer - cy." The piano accompaniment starts with a rest, followed by a series of chords and moving lines. The score is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic.

<sup>35</sup> Manuscript from the composer.

Example 18: *Kyrie* from *Die Heilige Eucharistie* by Owen Franklin.<sup>36</sup>

Leader Congregation

He - re, wees ge - na - dig, He - re, wees ge - na - dig.

Chris-tus wees ge - na - dig, Chris-tus wees ge - na - dig. He - re, wees ge -

na - - dig. He - re, wees ge - na - - dig. *rit.* *p*

Example 19: *Kyrie* from *Constantia Setting* by Colin Howard.<sup>37</sup>

Lord, have mer-cy Lord, have mer - cy.

<sup>36</sup> Franklin, *Die Heilige Eucharistie*.<sup>37</sup> Howard, *Constantia Setting*.

Example 20: Extract of Kyrie from St Stephen's Setting by Andrew-John Bethke.<sup>38</sup>

Moderato  $\text{♩} = 60$

*p* Lord, have mer - cy.

*p* Sw 8' Strings

Lord, have mer - cy. Lord, have mer - cy.

*mf* Christ, have mer - cy. Christ, have mer - cy. Christ have

8' Flute

A Xhosa sung Eucharist is common in parishes too. The most frequently used version in white and coloured parishes is not a unified setting by a single composer, but is a conglomeration of separate compositions which work fairly well together. The *Gloria* (Uzuko kuThixo)<sup>39</sup> is by G M Kolisi and, like the “Masithi Amen”, is a product of the Lumco composition workshops led by Dargie. It was extracted from the “African Sung Mass” produced by Lumco in the 1980’s. It can be sung in English or in Xhosa. The melody acts much in the same way as an Anglican psalm chant, being sung to two lines of text at a time. It can be adapted freely to suit the text if there are fewer syllables than notes. While it does retain some elements of western functional harmony, it also captures the essence of Xhosa melodic lines, with the characteristic falling motives towards the ends of phrases. This is an example of integration (see example 21). The *Kyrie* (Nkosi senzene inceba) is simply set to the western hymn tune ST PHILIP, and in practice is sung three times, i.e. nine-fold *Kyrie*. Here is an

<sup>38</sup> Bethke, *St Stephen's Setting*.

<sup>39</sup> *A South African Collection*, 1.

example of adaptation, where a western tune has been adapted to Xhosa text. Although a number of Xhosa settings of the *Sanctus/Benedictus* exist, very few non-black parishes tend to use them. The *Agnus Dei* (Mvana ka Thixo)<sup>40</sup> is also set to a hymn-like tune, but its provenance is not known (see example 22).

Example 21: First verse of *Uzuko kuThixo* by G M Kolisi<sup>41</sup>



Example 22: Opening phrase of *Mvana ka Thixo*<sup>42</sup>



On the international front there are several popular settings. All of them are by English composers. Richard Lloyd's "The St Luke Service"<sup>43</sup> is used fairly widely, and Tambling's "Holy Trinity Service"<sup>44</sup> is growing in popularity, especially now that it is sung at the cathedral. Noel Rawsthorne's "Festival Eucharist"<sup>45</sup> is a well-known setting, especially among organists, who enjoy the accompaniment.

<sup>40</sup> Photocopy from a parish music library.

<sup>41</sup> *A South African Collection*, 1.

<sup>42</sup> Photocopy from St Stephen's music library.

<sup>43</sup> Lloyd, *The Saint Luke Service*.

<sup>44</sup> Tambling, *The Holy Trinity Service*.

<sup>45</sup> Rawsthorne, *Festive Eucharist*.

John Rutter's setting for the Series 3 liturgy is still used in a few parishes, although it seems to be gradually waning these days.<sup>46</sup>

The cathedral and St Michael's, Observatory, present special choral settings of the Mass on occasion. These tend to be Latin orchestral masses by Mozart, Haydn or Schubert. Non-orchestral masses such as Widor's Mass for two choirs and two organs are also performed. Since this is not a widespread practice throughout the diocese it will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter in regard to the individual parishes.

## Canticles

Very few parishes still sing Evensong regularly and so the repertoire tends to be fairly limited in the city. At the cathedral, where the evening office is still sung every Sunday, there is a strong tradition of fairly complex English cathedral canticle settings. St Michael's, Observatory, also tends to use these settings for their monthly Evensongs. Thus it is not uncommon to hear Stanford in G,<sup>47</sup> A,<sup>48</sup> B-flat<sup>49</sup> or C,<sup>50</sup> as well as Murrill in E,<sup>51</sup> Dyson in D<sup>52</sup> and F,<sup>53</sup> Ireland in F,<sup>54</sup> Wood in E-flat (both settings),<sup>55</sup> Howells "Colligium Regale",<sup>56</sup> Nobel in B minor<sup>57</sup> and Harris in A.<sup>58</sup> During Lent, simpler versions of the canticles are used, such as the Tallis Fauxbourdons<sup>59</sup> and canticles by Carolus Andreas.<sup>60</sup>

The cathedral has a number of special local settings which are not used elsewhere, but are worth mentioning. Peter Klatzow and Stephen Carletti, both notable composers in the diocese, have been commissioned to write canticles for the cathedral choir. Klatzow's setting is demanding chorally, and includes an athletic organ part. This would account for its limited accessibility outside of the

<sup>46</sup> Rutter, *Series 3 Eucharist*.

<sup>47</sup> Stanford, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G*.

<sup>48</sup> Stanford, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in A*.

<sup>49</sup> Stanford, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in B Flat*.

<sup>50</sup> Stanford, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in C*.

<sup>51</sup> Murrill, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis*.

<sup>52</sup> Dyson, *Evening Service in D*.

<sup>53</sup> Dyson, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis*.

<sup>54</sup> Ireland, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis*.

<sup>55</sup> Wood, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis*.

Wood, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in the Key of E Flat SATB*.

<sup>56</sup> Howells, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis: Collegium Regale*.

<sup>57</sup> Nobel, *The Morning, Communion, and Evening Service*.

<sup>58</sup> Harris, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis*.

<sup>59</sup> Published by Royal School of Church Music.

<sup>60</sup> Published by Royal School of Church Music.

cathedral. The style of the writing is thoroughly western harmonically, but the setting does exude a rhythmic vitality which is characteristically South African (see example 23). Carletti's "African Canticles" are more self-consciously South African. This is what he writes in the front cover:

This setting of the Evening Canticles was written with the expressed purpose of being both African and suitable for the traditional Anglican service of choral evensong. Consequently, the Magnificat is a result of my personal experience of English church music as a member of the choir of St George's Cathedral, Cape Town and as a native of South Africa. The Nunc Dimittis is more "authentic", though, as I have transcribed and modified an anthem born of the Freedom Struggle.<sup>61</sup>

In the *Magnificat*, he includes lively rhythmic patterns, designed to imitate the complexities of African drumming/clapping (see example 24). At one stage the choir is required to clap a simple rhythm while singing. For this reason alone, the piece has been incredibly popular among the junior choristers. The *Nunc Dimittis* is an adaptation of a South African freedom song, and is set for men's voices unaccompanied (see example 25). The *Nunc Dimittis*, in particular, is a moving example of how secular "political" music can be absorbed into Christian worship. This setting, too, requires the proficiency of a cathedral choir and organist. As a result, these settings have not been performed in parishes. Chris Chivers, a past Canon Precentor at St George's, wrote a *Fauxbourdon Magnificat* to twin with Carletti's *Nunc Dimittis* in the late 1990's. It skilfully alternates plainsong verses with another adaptation of an ethnic South African song - much like the Renaissance Fauxbourdon settings, although this setting is not strictly a Fauxbourdon (see example 26). The original song, Mayenziwe, is the Zulu version of the Lord's Prayer. Chivers uses the song, and much of its usual harmonisation, with minor rhythmic alterations to suit the English words (see example 26). Notice how low the key is in Chivers' setting. This was to accommodate the psalm tones which alternate with the verses. If the setting had been in the original key, the cantor would have had top E's to chant.

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<sup>61</sup> Carletti, *African Canticles*.

Example 23: Opening of *Magnificat* from the set of Evening Canticles by Peter Klatzow<sup>62</sup>

My soul doth mag-ni-fy the Lord  
and my  
in God my Sa-viour  
spi-rit hath re-joiced

Example 24: Extract from *Magnificat* from the African Canticles by Stephen Carletti<sup>63</sup>

Tenors and Basses  
He hath scat-tered the proud in the i-  
ma-gi-na-tion of their hearts.

<sup>62</sup> Klatzow, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis*.<sup>63</sup> Carletti, *African Canticles*.

Example 25: Opening of *Nunc Dimittis* from the African Canticles by Stephen Carletti<sup>64</sup>

Lord, now let-test thou thy ser-vant de-part in peace, thy  
now let-test, now let-test thou thy ser-vant de-part in peace,

Example 26: Opening of Zulu sacred song *Mayenziwe*<sup>65</sup> and the first few bars of *Magnificat* by Chris Chivers<sup>66</sup>

Ma-ye-nzi-we 'nta-ndo ya-kho. Ma-ye-nzi-we 'nta-ndo ya-kho.  
Ma-ye-nzi-we 'nta-ndo ya-kno. Ma-ye-nzi-we 'nta-ndo ya-kho.  
My soul doth magnify the Lord: and my spirit hath re-joiced in God my Saviour.  
For he hath re-gar-ded, For he hath re-gar-ded.  
For he hath re-gar-ded, For he hath re-gar-ded.

In parishes, Stanford in B-flat is much beloved and is sung often, Herchel Girls' School (an Anglican school in the diocese) even uses Stanford in B-flat at their carol services. Other settings which are used occasionally are the Wesley and Tallis Fauxbourdons, Hylton Steward in C (a unison setting)<sup>67</sup> and Dyson in C minor (also a unison setting).<sup>68</sup> Quite often, choirs simply chant the canticles to the Anglican chants provided in "The Parish Psalter".<sup>69</sup> David Orr, the cathedral organist, and the author,

<sup>64</sup> Carletti, *African Canticles*.

<sup>65</sup> Zulu traditional song.

<sup>66</sup> Chivers, *Magnificat*.

<sup>67</sup> Hylton Stewart, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis*.

<sup>68</sup> Dyson, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis*.

<sup>69</sup> Nicholson, *The Parish Psalter with Chants*.



director of music at Christ Church Constantia, have both contributed two-part canticle settings for parishes which are used occasionally (see example 27).

Example 27: Extract from the *Gloria* from *Nunc Dimittis* in two-parts by Andrew-John Bethke<sup>70</sup>

### Prayers for Africa

Trevor Huddleston penned a short congregational Prayer for Africa while he ministered in Southern Africa, and this prayer was included in APB. It has become a tradition in many parishes for this prayer to be included towards the end of the Eucharist, often after Communion. A number of musical settings of this prayer exist, the most popular being that composed by Barry Smith (see example 28). While Smith's setting does include a number of parallel fifths, they are not used in the characteristic parallel movement of Southern African music. Thus, it can be described as a western setting. Some parishes have commissioned settings for this prayer. Stephen Carletti wrote one for St Andrew's, Newlands<sup>71</sup> and Marc Murray wrote one for St Saviour's, Claremont.<sup>72</sup> These settings are also characteristically western in style, but Carletti's does make use of syncopation occasionally, to give a sense of African rhythmic motives. More recently, an updated version of the prayer was commended for use in parishes at Provincial Synod. This prayer exists in one setting by the author and is only used in two parishes. In this piece, the composer attempted to capture the distinctive Xhosa harmonic gesture of oscillating movement between major chords with a descending melodic line above (see example 29).

<sup>70</sup> Bethke, *Parish Canticles*.

<sup>71</sup> Carletti, *God Bless Africa*.

<sup>72</sup> Murray, *God Bless Africa*.

Example 28: "God Bless Africa" by Barry Smith<sup>73</sup>

Gently

God — bless Af - ri - ca, guard her

chil - ren, guide her lead-ers, and give her peace. For Jesus Christ's sake, A - men.

Example 29: "God Bless Africa" by Andrew-John Bethke<sup>74</sup>

$\text{♩} = 60$

God bless — Af - ri - ca. Pro - tect our child - ren. Trans -

form our lead - ers. Heal our land. Re - store our dig - ni - ty. And

give us peace and give us peace.

give us peace, and give us peace, and give us peace and give us peace.

For Je - sus Christ's sake. A - - - men.

<sup>73</sup> Smith, *God Bless Africa*.<sup>74</sup> Bethke, *God Bless Africa*.

## Anthems

Those parishes that have choirs and prepare anthems draw their repertoire from numerous sources. Choir libraries usually have one, or several of the following anthem collections: Church Anthem Book,<sup>75</sup> New Church Anthem Book,<sup>76</sup> Oxford Anthems for Choirs (usually only volume one),<sup>77</sup> Carols for Choirs (volume one<sup>78</sup> and two<sup>79</sup> only) or 100 Carols for Choirs.<sup>80</sup> Newer collections such as “Season by Season” (RSCM)<sup>81</sup> and “Voices for Life” (RSCM)<sup>82</sup> are also becoming popular, especially since they can be photocopied legally. In general, although churches would like to enlarge their anthem repertoire, they find collections and anthologies costly to import. However, the internet has made a vast number of anthems, which are in the public domain, available to choirs at no cost. Many parishes also have the RSCM festival books which contain anthems, canticles, psalms and hymns.<sup>83</sup> Often anthems are extracted from these for worship.

Choir libraries usually contain numerous octavo single anthems, mostly published by Oxford or the RSCM. While it would be impossible to list the contents of every parish choral library, it is possible to pick out some of the most commonly found items. John Rutter anthems, such as “All things bright and beautiful”, “The Lord bless you and keep you”, “The Clare benediction” and “The peace of God” are almost ubiquitous. Others include “Save us, O Lord” (Bairstow), “Jerusalem the golden” (Grey), “God so loved the world” (Stainer), “Fairest Lord Jesus” (How) and “I was glad” (Parry). However, by and large, choirs are tending to opt for the two- and three-part anthems in newer collections to accommodate smaller choral forces.<sup>84</sup>

On the local front, a church music collection published by the Cape Town branch of the RSCM, called “A South African Collection”,<sup>85</sup> is sometimes used. It contains the Xhosa *Gloria* discussed above, three hymns, five anthems and “Nkosi, sikelel’ iAfrika”. Of the three hymns, two are texts from AM with locally composed tunes (GATCOMBE by Malcolm Tyler and BISHOPSCOURT by Owen Franklin).

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<sup>75</sup> Walford Davies and Ley, *The Church Anthem Book*.

<sup>76</sup> Dakers, *The New Church Anthem Book*.

<sup>77</sup> Jackson, *Anthems for Choirs I*.

<sup>78</sup> Jacques and Willcocks, *Carols for Choirs I*.

<sup>79</sup> Willcocks and Rutter, *Carols for Choirs II*.

<sup>80</sup> Willcocks and Rutter, *100 Carols for Choirs*.

<sup>81</sup> Barnard and Iliff, *Season by Season*.

<sup>82</sup> Perona-Wright, *Voices for Life Choir Trainer’s Book*.

<sup>83</sup> All festival books are published by the RSCM publishing department.

<sup>84</sup> Author’s personal experience.

<sup>85</sup> *A South African Collection*.

They are both in western harmonic style. Neither is used with any frequency.<sup>86</sup> The third is “Who will save our land and people” which is discussed above. The five anthems (“The God of Love” by Nicholas Head, “I was glad” by Graham Hyslop, “Christ, whose glory” by Barry Smith, “Bread of Heaven” by Stephen Carletti and “Centenary Hymn to the Trinity” by Owen Franklin) are used occasionally, usually for diocesan choral events. None of them is consciously African in nature, either textually or harmonically.

There are a number of locally composed anthems, not published in collections, which are performed fairly frequently. They are “Plea from Africa” (John Knox Bokwe), “God bless Africa” (Stephen Carletti), “Ek slaan my oë”(an Afrikaans setting of Psalm 121 by Stephen Carletti) and “Come colours rise” (Grant McLachlan). Except for the first anthem, both the words and music were written by South African citizens. Bokwe’s anthem is written in western style (Victorian, actually). The words are attributed to “A Glasgow Lady”.<sup>87</sup> Carletti’s accessible western harmonic vocabulary has earned him a respectable reputation in Cape Town. His setting of the Afrikaans Psalm 121 is a simple setting for SAB (see example 30). The words come from the Afrikaans version of APB, translated by the Liturgical Committee. McLachlan’s attractive carol has earned him world-wide fame. His use of Xhosa rhythmic devices, such as sets of 3 + 3 + 2 quavers in a 4/4 bar, gives the piece a truly local flavour, even though the harmonic fabric is basically western (see example 31). The words are by Frank Barry, a local poet, and relate directly to the euphoria of the transition to democracy in South Africa (the carol was written in 1994) - see example 32 for the words. The carol is also distinctive in that it accommodates images of Christmas in summer and local vocabulary such as “krans” and “veldt”. The text is macaronic, incorporating Zulu phrases in the chorus. Other younger local composers are slowly beginning to make a name for themselves too. A number of anthems and carols by the author are beginning to find a place in the common repertoire. David Orr is also producing a good deal of liturgical music for parishes. Both of these composers tend to focus on two- or three-part music for small, inexperienced choral groups (see example 33). Orr’s music is heavily influenced by Jazz, and often includes lush 9<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> chords. In general, music composed by musicians in the rest of the country does not feature much in local churches. This is probably due to difficulties in dissemination.

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<sup>86</sup> Author’s personal experience.

<sup>87</sup> Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, 43 - 44. Much has already been written about Bokwe and his contemporaries, and about this piece and its characteristics. For more information see Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, 38 - 54.

Example 30: Extract from *Ek slaan my oë* by Stephen Carletti.<sup>88</sup>

Solo or tutti

*mp* Ek slaan my o - e, ek slaan my o - e op na die ber - ge.

Example 31: Extract from the vocal parts of *Come colours rise* by Grant McLachlan.<sup>89</sup>

Come, col-ours rise Un-der Af-ri-can skies Yi - zan-i zintlang-a vu - ka - ni

Example 32: Text for *Come colours rise* by Frank Barry.<sup>90</sup>

'Neath summer skies this Christmas morn  
To God our saviour son is born  
Our infant nation newly formed  
Like Jesus challenged by this dawn  
The Christian family open armed  
By smiling infant doubly charmed  
This day when we are truly blessed  
Renews our courage for His test.

*Come, colours rise  
Under African skies  
Yizani Zintlanga vukani  
Phantisi kwezulu le Africa  
Come, colours rise  
Old fears subside  
Let truth and freedom reign.*

From tabled altar, steeped krans,  
In khaya, or where camp-fires dance  
From fruited valley, field of wheat  
In hut or city let drums beat  
The messenger of love is here  
The Christ-child whom we do revere  
Has come immortal souls to save  
From sin and everlasting grave.

*Come, colours rise  
Under African skies  
Christ has come*

<sup>88</sup> Carletti, *Ek Slaan My Oë*.

<sup>89</sup> McLachlan, *Come Colours Rise*.

<sup>90</sup> McLachlan, *Come Colours Rise*.

*His will be done  
Yizani Zintlanga vukani  
Phantisi kwezulu le Africa  
Come, colours rise  
Old fears subside  
Let truth and freedom reign.*

We thank you mighty God on high  
For mountains, sea and radiant sky  
For rivers, veldt and fertile earth  
But most of all for sacred birth.  
All praise to Him our heav'nly king  
With voices, hearts and minds we bring  
May joy abound unshackled free  
Our rainbow vision ever be.

*Come, colours rise  
Under African skies  
Christ has come  
His will be done  
Yizani Zintlanga vukani  
Phantisi kwezulu le Africa  
Come, colours rise  
Old fears subside  
Let truth and freedom reign.*

Example 33: Opening of *Glory to Thee, my God, this night* by David Orr<sup>91</sup>

## Psalms

A few parishes continue to chant the psalms to Anglican chant from week to week in the Eucharist. APB contains the full pointed psalter, and what often happens is that choirs simply use the set chants in “The Parish Psalter” with the APB words. A few churches have “The ASB psalter and canticles” (edited by Lionel Dakers and Cyril Taylor).<sup>92</sup> Since APB adopted the ASB psalter verbatim, this is a perfect match. A few churches have experimented with plainsong responsorial psalms, adapted from “A plainsong psalter”.<sup>93</sup> In these cases a cantor leads the verses and the congregation joins in after every two or three verses with a simple unison response. For example, in Advent the

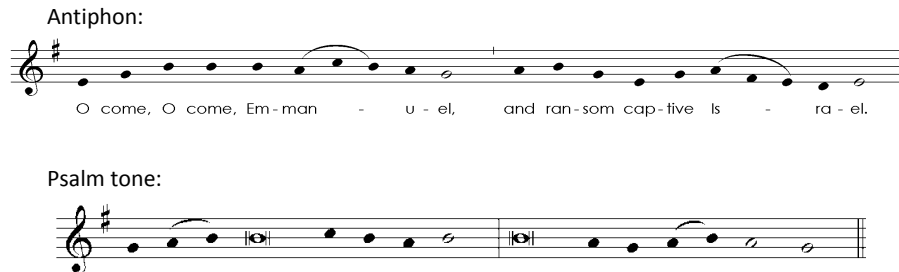
<sup>91</sup> Orr, *Glory to Thee, my God, this night*.

<sup>92</sup> Dakers and Taylor, *The ASB Psalter and Canticles: Set to Anglican Chant for Use on Sundays, Festivals, Holy Days and Various Occasions*.

<sup>93</sup> Litton, *The Plainsong Psalter*.

congregational response could be the first line from the hymn “O come, o come Emmanuel” (see example 34). The cathedral has experimented with other forms of responsorial psalms, such as the Gelineau Psalms in English, but this has not been a widespread practice in parishes.

Example 34: Verses 1 - 3 of Psalm 89 with congregational response and psalm tone<sup>94</sup>



1. Hear O Shepherd of Israel, you that led Joseph / like a lamb:  
you that are enthroned upon the cherubim / shine out in glory.
2. Before Ephraim, Benjamin / and Manasseh:  
stir up your power and / come to save us.
3. *Restore us again O / Lord of hosts:*  
*show us the light of your countenance / and we shall be saved.*

Antiphon

Some congregations still offer sung Evensong occasionally. Usually this is from SAPB, and when this is the case, the psalms are generally sung from “The Parish Psalter”. At the cathedral, an alternate chant book was produced in the 1970’s to accompany “The Parish Psalter”.<sup>95</sup> It was compiled by Barry Smith and contains some of the popular English cathedral chants which were not included in the abovementioned Psalter.

One chant, in particular, should be mentioned because of its frequent performances throughout the diocese: Stanford’s setting of Psalm 150. This is the unofficial school song at Diocesan College, but is also extraordinarily popular in parishes, especially for patronal festivals and other celebrations. Most diocesan choirs can sing this setting by memory.<sup>96</sup>

### Taizé chants

The distinctive chants popularised by the Taizé community in France feature in Anglican worship from time to time in the diocese. Archbishop Tutu organised a number of cultural exchanges with Taizé in the 1980’s and early 1990’s and this may account for the popularity of the chants in this

<sup>94</sup> Adapted for the APB Psalter by Andrew-John Bethke

<sup>95</sup> Smith, *St George’s Psalter*.

<sup>96</sup> Author’s personal experience.

diocese.<sup>97</sup> Some parishes use the chants on a weekly basis, often during Communion, e.g. Christ Church, Constantia. Other parishes use them sparingly, particularly during Lent and Holy Week. Some churches have even experimented with full Taizé services on an annual or quarterly basis. The most popular chants are “Jesus, remember me”, “Wait for the Lord”, “O Lord, hear my prayer”, “Gloria 3” and “Ubi Caritas”.

### Sources for selecting music

There are a few sources available to clergy and musicians to aid hymn and song choices. As noted in a previous chapter, APB’s lectionary is based largely on the Common Lectionary. In the early 1990’s a newer version of this lectionary was produced called the “Revised Common Lectionary” (RCL). For a long time ACSA did not use this newer version, principally because the older one had been printed in APB and the cost of revising it was exorbitant. Thus, international publications, which were lectionary related, were not entirely suitable for local circumstances. To remedy this, Phyllis Kraft, a local bishop’s wife, created a hymn and song index for years A, B and C, according to APB’s lectionary. Kraft sought to provide a source which would include all the hymn books currently in use throughout the Province, including six of the vernacular hymn books (Afrikaans, North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu). She lists hymns and songs which are directly or indirectly related to each of the four readings set for the day, as well as seasonal material. It appears that Kraft published this herself over three years (1998 - 2000), relying on subscribers to generate the necessary income for printing.<sup>98</sup> Today, a number of priests are still using this comprehensive resource on a weekly basis.

In 2008 the ACSA liturgical committee decided to publish the RCL lectionary alongside the APB one in their annual lectionary. This meant that clergy and musicians could now make use of international music and liturgy related publications. The RSCM’s “Sunday by Sunday”, published quarterly with “Church Music Quarterly” is now quite popular, but is only available to members of the RSCM. Additionally, at the back of AM (NS) there is a complete listing of hymns for each Sunday and festival of the liturgical year, which is based on RCL.

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<sup>97</sup> Author’s personal experience.

<sup>98</sup> Kraft, Phyllis. *Accompanying Letters for the CPSC Hymn Index* (Years “A” and “C”). 1998, 1999.





## Chapter Nine

# The Transformation of Repertoire in the Diocese as a Response to the Changing Role of Music

Music histories always carry some responsibility to cast light on repertoires and their creation, performance, and reception.<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

This chapter explores the results of the diocesan music survey, particularly in relation to repertoire and how it is used by parishes. Additionally, it includes more detailed representations from individual parishes.

### Parish repertoire and musical resources throughout the diocese

Hymns and scriptural songs are popular in parish worship. While some parishes use just one hymnal, a large number (73%) appear to prefer using a combination of two or three. In the technological age of today there is also the unlimited potential of the internet as a source of hymnody. Where parishes use digital hymn boards or printed pew leaflets, this has become a latent resource. Nonetheless, printed hymnbooks still reign supreme. Three parishes use *Hymns Ancient and Modern New Standard* (AMNS) exclusively while another three still prefer only *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised* (AMR). The most popular combination (53%) is AMNS and *Songs of Fellowship* (SOF). The popularity of contemporary hymnbooks such as SOF can be attributed to the growing acceptance of 'blended' worship in Anglican congregations. As early as 1996, local Anglicans showed that they were more content with a blend of hymnody and contemporary songs than with hymnody exclusively (about 64%).<sup>2</sup> At Christmas and Easter, traditional carols and hymns appear to take precedence. Perhaps because of the sanctity of these festivals it is felt unwise to meddle with accepted traditional norms? But, in general, there appears to be a fairly organic process of integration throughout the diocese in terms of modern hymnody and worship songs.

A significant number of parishes (80%) use congregational settings of the Eucharist, but only 35% use choir settings. Considering that the majority of churches now use APB, and bearing in mind that APB's musical outlook is *koinoniac*, a preference for congregational settings is not surprising. Those parishes which use SAPB for their principal service tend towards a more *kerygmatic* musical stance. Sixty per cent (60%) of congregations are likely to hear choral anthems fairly regularly. This is also an

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert, "Social History and Music History", 152.

<sup>2</sup> Lagerwall, *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches*, 122. Another interesting point is that in 1996 Anglicans preferred the printed as opposed to digital or projected medium (see Lagerwall, 123). From my own observations this is still true in the Diocese of Cape Town, where only one parish I visited used a data projector.

indicator of APB's flexibility theologically and musically. While it is broadly *koinoniac*, it creates ample space for *kerygmatic* moments. Scriptural songs are quite common in parish repertoires (65%), while ethnic African songs/canticles (45%) and Taizé chants (40%) are growing in popularity. In view of the fact that no black parishes were represented in the survey, it is significant that such a high proportion of congregations are including ethnic songs in their repertoires. This is a signal of a social shift in which it is acceptable, and even trendy, for white and coloured people to be engaging with classically 'black' music. Anglican psalm chants are still being used in 55% of parishes, but responsorial psalmody appears not to have established itself (25%). Plainsong is also a rarity in congregational repertoires (30%). Considering the Anglican Church's great strides in ecumenical relations, it seems significant that the most distinctive Anglican musical traits (Anglican chant and Morning and Evening Canticles) have largely been abandoned. Perhaps this signals a more global Christian outlook? Both responsorial psalmody and plainsong psalms have the potential for congregational participation (through the responses or antiphons). In other words, they carry great *koinoniac* potential. Given APB's preference for *koinoniac* music, it is surprising that neither form is particularly popular. Yet, Anglican chant, which is usually associated with a *kerygmatic* musical outlook, because of its complexity, is more widely in use. Perhaps this is a subtle form of 'retention' in parishes - harking back to a distinctive Anglican past?

Organ solos are still a staple of parish music (80%), while both instrumental music (55%) and recordings (45%) are beginning to establish greater prominence in worship services. Ninety per cent (90%) of congregations indicated that the organ is used to accompany congregational singing. Piano/keyboard is almost as popular (80%). These high percentages indicate that the majority of parishes use both the organ and piano in any given service, depending on the genre of music. Occasionally both instruments are used simultaneously. This is fairly consistent with Lagerwall's survey in 1996, in which the organ and piano were rated almost as highly (about 85%).<sup>3</sup> Finding appropriately trained organists, however, is becoming a major problem. Certainly, one of the direct results of the emancipation of the laity has been a marked increase in the number of self-trained organists and musicians leading worship. Exacerbating this trend is the growing culture of 'immediate gratification', which does not espouse the discipline and dedication required to perfect organ technique. Although the results of the survey do not include black parishes, my field research indicates that a number of black parishes do use the organ to accompany sections of their worship. St Mary's in Guguletu has two talented young organists. They also use marimbas to accompany songs on special occasions. Percussion instruments (30%), drum kits (30%), guitars (30%), djembe drums (15%) and beat cushions (5%) are used sparingly. However, drum kits and guitars are very

<sup>3</sup> Lagerwall, *Contemporary Attitudes Towards Music in South African Protestant Churches*, 126.

common in Evangelical parishes. Guitars are also becoming more and more popular in parishes where organists are not available. Orchestral instruments are fairly common (50%), but are usually used in tandem with the organ or piano. Seventy per cent (70%) of congregations specified that they sing unaccompanied occasionally.

APB was designed to be liturgically flexible. This has also allowed a degree of creativity in the choice of music in worship. Seventy-five per cent (75%) of respondents agreed that APB gave them freedom to experiment musically. In other words they did not feel bound to use hymns and Anglican Psalm chants exclusively.

Parishes are becoming more adventurous in the realm of linguistics. Now that South Africa recognises eleven official languages, the use of more than one language in worship is beginning to increase. Forty-five per cent (45%) of congregations affirmed that they use different languages in services. Central parishes are less likely to use other languages in their worship (33%), whereas both Evangelical (67%) and Catholic (56%) oriented parishes are more likely to experiment with them. Equally significant is the number of congregations using South African worship songs in their services (50%). Catholic oriented parishes are less likely to use South African songs in worship (44%), while Evangelical parishes all use South African worship songs.

Despite the encouraging growth in local content in worship services, the vast majority of music is still sourced internationally, principally from the UK, USA and Australia. The Hillsong<sup>4</sup> worship movement is having a profound influence in many parishes, while Vineyard<sup>5</sup> continues to exert considerable sway. Together with the AM series, this signals adoption culturally and musically which is not unexpected, when the lingering English nature of the Anglican Church is considered. While interviewing musicians around the diocese, I gained the distinct impression that many of them feel that they cannot compose, or that their compositions are not of a standard comparable with English, American or Australian composers. Others argue that since there is such a wealth of music available from elsewhere, why bother writing local repertoire? Thus, a consequence of the accessibility of international music is that invention is not an official priority in the diocese. A number of individual parishes have talented composers, and they compose for their congregations, but by-and-large this music is not available throughout the diocese.

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<sup>4</sup> Hillsong Church is based in Australia, but has branches all over the world. See *Hillsong Australia* [<http://hillsong.com>] accessed 24 January 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Vineyard is a leader in the contemporary Christian music publishing and recording world. See *Vineyard Music* [<http://www.vineyardmusic.com/vm>] accessed 24 January 2011.

### Repertoire at St George's Cathedral

Two Sunday services a week are sung at the cathedral. The 10am Eucharist is geared towards family worship. There is a small choir of volunteers which supports the congregational singing at this service. Because of the family orientation of the morning Eucharist, the music is entirely participatory and there is no anthem. On the last Sunday of the month, either the University Cathedral Singers or a visiting choir presents an orchestral setting of the Ordinary texts. Otherwise Barry Smith's musical setting of APB texts is used on a weekly basis. The congregation is well versed in chanting certain sections of the service. For example, everyone chants the collect and the Gospel Alleluia.<sup>6</sup> The congregation even participates in the chanting of the Psalm.<sup>7</sup> The music for all the musical sections of the service is printed in the pew leaflet each week. The congregation participates with great enthusiasm in all of the sung sections. Naturally they are more confident with those parts of the service which are sung weekly, but the author was surprised that they even attempted unfamiliar hymns with tenacity. Hymns, both ancient and contemporary, form the bulk of the congregation's repertoire. Worship songs and choruses do not feature often. Occasionally the words of hymns are adapted to reflect the cathedral's inclusive mandate, e.g. "man" (as in "mankind") is sometimes adapted to "folk", etc. This is evident in the liturgy too. For example, God is not referred to as 'He', but simply as 'God'. This can become ponderous when 'God' appears three or four times in one sentence.

Evensong has quite a different ethos from the morning services. The SAPB form of evening prayer is used each week, and the cathedral choir leads the entire service, except for the hymns, on behalf of the congregation. British settings of the evening canticles predominate, with a few notable exceptions – those of Carletti and Klatzow.<sup>8</sup> The psalms are chanted to Anglican chant and the responses are sung to several different settings, usually Carletti, Smith of Durham or Tallis. An anthem is sung each week. Hymns are drawn from AM (New Standard).

The service of choral Evensong is a peculiarly Anglican phenomenon which emphasises the devotional aspect of worship. In today's church, the sacramental aspect of worship tends to be over-emphasised at the expense of the more devotional and reflective offices. The cathedral has worked against all odds to maintain its weekly Evensong services, despite dwindling congregations.

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<sup>6</sup> Very few Anglican churches in South Africa include an Alleluia after the gradual hymn. St George's Cathedral is the only church in the Diocese of Cape Town, besides St Michael's Observatory, in which the author has witnessed this practice.

<sup>7</sup> The cathedral uses a number of different methods for chanting the Psalms. Anglican chant, plainsong tones and responsorial tones are used fairly frequently.

<sup>8</sup> David Orr has recently composed a 3-part setting of the APB canticles for the cathedral choir, but this has yet to be premiered.

Contemporary language and hymnody could endear the service to more people, but perhaps it is important to retain this specific service as it is.

In many respects the cathedral is a melting pot of musical development. It displays a variety of musical responses to liturgical change simultaneously. For example, at the 10am Eucharist, a form of adoption has taken place in the sense that American sources for the liturgy and hymnody are frequently used. However, gestures of integration are also present with the inclusion of English, Afrikaans and Xhosa words to hymns and readings. Nevertheless, the majority of the hymnody is drawn from *Hymnal 1982*, an American Episcopal publication, and other American hymn books, such as *With One Voice*. Besides the Eucharistic setting and the Prayer for Africa, very little local music is used.

At Evensong, retention appears to be determining the musical choices. The liturgy is still drawn from SAPB, and the repertoire is largely from nineteenth-century Britain. Nonetheless, both Barry Smith and David Orr have included locally composed settings of both the canticles and anthems, although the texts tend to be drawn from SAPB. Orr has recently completed a setting of the canticles to the newer translations in the APB. He hopes this will encourage the more frequent use of APB at Evensong.

Recently a white congregant of the cathedral commented to the author, "The music at the Cathedral is so white."<sup>9</sup> It appears that despite attempting to reflect the diverse linguistic nature of the diocese by including English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, the cathedral may have failed to represent the many musical cultures represented by the congregation.

### **Repertoire at St Cyprian's, Langa**

The music at St Cyprian's is lively and joyful. At the Eucharist the music is entirely congregational, and besides leading the parish in song, the choir does not perform any separate anthems. Many of the congregants sing in parts, and the rich texture of choral sound is thrilling. The congregational singing is all unaccompanied. For some of the songs djembe drums and a cow-bell-like instrument are added. Also typical among black congregations is the 'beat cushion',<sup>10</sup> which is designed to delineate the beat by a deep thud when it is struck by the open hand.

I was particularly interested to see how the older members of the congregation taught the choral parts to the young people. While a hymn or song is in progress, the older parishioners sing their part

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Carole Hartley.

<sup>10</sup> This is a small cushion, usually covered in leather or fake-leather, which is designed to be grasped in one hand and struck with the palm of the other.

loudly into the ear of the learner, who follows the words and tonic sol-fa in the hymn book. During successive verses the learner tries more and more of the hymn until he/she can sing the entire part. Successive renderings cement the part into the singer's brain. Most black singers are able to sing any one of the four parts of a particular hymn or song if prompted to do so.<sup>11</sup> This aural ability ensures that there is always a magnificent four-part texture to the communal singing.

To start each hymn or song, a cantor (usually the same person for the whole service) announces the number of the song and sings an incipit of the tune, while the rest of the congregation join in once they have found the place. It appears that the cantors seldom have a pitch pipe, and this sometimes results in the pitch being set too high or too low. Occasionally a member of the congregation will spontaneously begin a hymn or ethnic song. Most congregants know these songs by heart and they join in quickly. When the congregation sings hymns, there is very little body movement. But when a locally composed song with ethnic music is selected, the whole congregation begins to dance in the aisles, while clapping their hands or slapping their beat cushions.

Many of the songs sung at St Cyprian's are selected from the Xhosa hymn book *Iculo Lase-Tschetshi Ne-Ngoma*.<sup>12</sup> By and large, the texts are translations of European hymns and also include western tunes. In this way, white and coloured visitors are able to join in the singing. However, many hymn tunes which have been handed down orally from generation to generation have changed slightly both rhythmically and melodically. Nevertheless, most tunes are still readily recognisable from the opening incipit.

Plainsong has not traditionally been accepted by black congregations, but at St Cyprian's a great deal of the liturgy is chanted in plainsong style. The opening greetings and praise sentences, the collect, the introduction to the Gospel, the peace greeting, the thanksgiving prayers, the greeting at the Eucharistic prayer, and sections of the Prayer itself are chanted. The psalms are also sung to adaptations of Anglican chant (either single or double chants, in four-part harmony). The psalter in the Xhosa translation of the APB is not pointed, and so the cantor leads the congregation, pointing the verses at sight. All the responses and Ordinary texts at the Eucharist are sung by the congregation, except the confession itself. Many additional liturgical songs (which have attained Ordinary status<sup>13</sup>) are included in the service. Here are some examples. A song has been inserted directly before the collect for purity, another as part of the peace greeting,<sup>14</sup> a song after the

<sup>11</sup> Author's personal experience.

<sup>12</sup> The origins of this hymn book are described in chapter four, and its contents in chapter eight.

<sup>13</sup> In the sense that they are unchanged from week to week.

<sup>14</sup> At St Cyprian's a tradition has evolved around the peace greeting. All the congregants join hands and sing an 'Ordinary' peace song while they raise and lower each other's hands rhythmically.

consecration of the bread and wine respectively, and a song in place of the acclamations during the Eucharistic Prayer. These songs are not printed in the hymn book, but the congregation knows them by heart.

Hymns feature at all the normal places in the liturgy: introit, gradual, offertory, communion and recessional. These hymns are chosen with the themes and seasons of the Church in mind. In addition, songs are inserted at key points in the service, e.g. a 'welcoming' song for the preacher, or a 'thank you' song when the sermon is finished. These tend to be spontaneously chosen, and are well-known by the congregation. Generally, these songs tend to be more ethnic in nature and include dancing, ululating and drumming.

Like the coloured community in Cape Town, black congregations love to host choral festivals.<sup>15</sup> This is a platform for parish choirs. Choral festivals can include both local and visiting choirs and the repertoire can vary greatly. In general choirs prefer compositions by local Xhosa composers (usually written in tonic sol-fa) and the popular choruses from western oratorios, e.g. Handel's *Messiah*. Many choristers are well versed in tonic sol-fa and are able to read complex parts at sight. Smaller choirs, however, teach by rote. Additionally, choirs usually wear uniforms or robes and are arranged carefully according to voice parts. Choir competitions are also extremely popular. For these events a number of set pieces are required, including both local and western compositions. The competitiveness of the choirs is intense, and high standards are often attained.

St Cyprian's, like many of the other parishes, displays a number of characteristics in relation to liturgical change and music. With the newer texts of APB (through L75), more contemporary versions of liturgical texts have necessitated local composition. In some cases this has been accomplished by the community, in others by single composers. Much of the music for the liturgy has been written anonymously and is therefore difficult to trace. In this respect some of the music at St Cyprian's falls into the category of invention. In the realm of liturgical music this is something of a rarity in the Diocese of Cape Town. With the exception of a few parishes which use Eucharistic settings by Colin Howard, Owen Franklin and Barry Smith,<sup>16</sup> most parishes use imported settings from Britain.

Psalm chanting, chanting in general and hymn singing at St Cyprians (and at many black parishes in South Africa), appear to be examples of adoption. Since the chanting seems to imitate Anglican chant and plainsong so closely, these must be vestiges of European missionary teaching and

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<sup>15</sup> The information in this paragraph is drawn from the author's personal experience of adjudicating local choral festivals.

<sup>16</sup> Colin Howard (who died in 2008), Owen Franklin (a retired Anglican priest) and Barry Smith contributed musical settings of the APB Eucharist.



ministry. The genesis of black hymnody has already been discussed in chapter four. Local congregations are increasingly allowing ethnic worship songs into their worship services. In a sense this is a revival of African culture, but beyond that it is also an adaptation of traditional music for the relatively new phenomenon of Christianity in Southern Africa.

### **Repertoire at St Michael's and All Angels, Observatory**

St Michael's brand of Anglo-Catholic worship embraces a rich choral repertoire. The theological position of the parish allows for the choir to respond liturgically on behalf of the congregation on a number of occasions throughout the service. Although fully choral services were not unusual in the early twentieth century, theological shifts have necessitated a redefinition of choral leadership in most parish churches today. St Michael's has managed to foster a balance between the two theological stances, encouraging choral leadership and congregational participation. At the Mass one gets the impression that the congregation is vitally involved throughout the service. The congregational singing, in particular, is warm and bold, despite the limited numbers. Evensong, however, is almost entirely led by the choir. Perhaps that would be one of the main reasons for the small congregation for this particular service? Until 2008 the choir was present every week at Mass. Busy twenty-first century life-styles (especially taxing work schedules, and limited family time) have necessitated that they only lead worship every second week presently. As a result, a congregational setting of the Mass has been introduced for use when the choir is absent.<sup>17</sup> The *Gloria* and *Credo* have always been sung to a congregational setting, even when choral Masses are presented by the choir. The congregation also sings five hymns for the Mass,<sup>18</sup> and two at Evensong.<sup>19</sup> The hymn repertory is drawn from AMR. According to the rector, "The policy of the parish is that only hymns in the hymn book are allowed – no pieces of paper!"<sup>20</sup> Modern hymnody, choruses and contemporary settings of the Eucharistic liturgy are not included in the parish's repertoire. At present the parish is considering adopting a new hymnal, probably *Common Praise*.<sup>21</sup>

The choir sings an impressive range of Anglican choral music, as well as some of the great European choral masterpieces.<sup>22</sup> Few, if any, parishes in the Province can boast such an ambitious repertoire. One of the special features of the church is their sequence of orchestral Masses. This must be one of

<sup>17</sup> In Trinity Tide 2010, this setting was Wilson in D. In penitential seasons Merbecke (from the *Book of Common Prayer Noted* 1550) is used.

<sup>18</sup> Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Communion and Recessional.

<sup>19</sup> Office hymn and an additional hymn, as well as the *Tantum ergo*.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Richard Girdwood.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Richard Girdwood.

<sup>22</sup> Music lists for the whole of 2009 are in Appendix S.

the great triumphs for church music in the diocese. In 2009, to celebrate the bicentenary of Joseph Haydn, the church initiated the *Haydn Project*.<sup>23</sup> This series proved a great success. In 2010 the *Schubert Series* was a similar tribute in celebration of Schubert. Plainsong Propers in English are a standard component of choir-led services, including an introit, gradual, alleluia, offertory and communion. Anglican chant also features at Evensong. A wide range of evening canticles have been used over the years, as well choral anthems.

The choir presents an Advent Carol Service each year on Advent Sunday. Irish often composes or arranges a new piece of music for this event. In 2009 he completed a four-part arrangement of a German poem and melody from *Beuttners Gesangbuch* (see example 1). Otherwise, new compositions are not often heard from the choir. Instead they tend to concentrate on the existing corpus of sacred music. In so doing, they keep an age-old repertoire alive for the present generation.

Example 1: Extract from “Our Blessed Lady’s Dream” by Deon Irish<sup>24</sup>



A wide range of organ music is featured from year to year. The organist and organ scholar together handle a repertoire which ranges from the seventeenth through to the twentieth centuries. Contemporary organ works are not common, although Olivier Messiaen (1908 - 1992) and Naji Hakim (1955 - ) are sometimes included. By and large, the organists include a fairly balanced range of music, including Bach and a few other Baroque composers, a great variety of Romantic works (Brahms, Mendelssohn and Rheinberger feature prominently) and a host of modern English works (Howells, Sumsion, Elgar, Preston). Visiting organists also bring a varied repertoire to the parish. In April 2010 Michael Pelzel (from Rapperswil, Switzerland) improvised an Entré, Sortie and several interludes in the French style. A number of local organists also accompany services from time to time. Very few parishes can boast such a fine tradition of organ music.<sup>25</sup>

A newcomer to St Michael’s may assume that the parish falls into the category of retention. Musically this appears to be correct, but liturgically this is not the case. St Michael’s, appreciating the

<sup>23</sup> This included the liturgical presentation of nine of Haydn’s orchestral masses. For further details see the Appendix S.

<sup>24</sup> Irish, *Our Blessed Lady’s Dream*. .

<sup>25</sup> See music lists in Appendix S.

need for liturgical renewal, did update their Use of the SAPB. Musically this allowed for European settings of the Mass to be used in liturgical worship. In fact, the liturgical changes made at St Michael's permitted the revival of a corpus of music which had not been used in Anglican worship for centuries, namely the Roman Catholic settings of the Mass.

This being noted, St Michael's does still fall into the category of retention. The parish's hymnody and choral repertoire largely reflect an age of Anglicanism which has disappeared. This is not to say that St Michael's is engaged in insincere worship, but that its parishioners prefer the 'old way' of doing things.

Little local material, besides a few anthems and carols written by the organist, is included in the choir's repertoire. When the rich variety of canticle settings by local composers for the cathedral and for Bishops Chapel is considered, not to mention all the anthems which have been contributed, it is unfortunate that these have not been performed by one of the premier Anglican parish choirs in the country.

### **Repertoire at Christ Church, Kenilworth**

Each of the three services at this church has a distinct ethos which is largely determined by the music. For example, the 8am service repertoire comprises classical congregational hymnody and choral anthems from a trained choir. The music for this service is accompanied almost exclusively on the organ, but occasionally other instrumentalists play solo items or descants with the organ. The piano is also used to accompany anthems from time to time. The congregational repertoire for this service is drawn from *Hymns for Today's Church* and, more recently, *Songs of Fellowship*. It is interesting to note that this is a liturgically-based service with a formal character, but not 'formal' in the St Michael's sense, i.e. incense and Eucharistic vestments are not used. Richard Haigh, the organist, chooses the music for this service.

Christ Church describes the 10am service as family-orientated. It includes families with younger children, but also a number of older people. The liturgical Use here is much more informal than at 8am, yet still retains recognisable structure. This structure, however, is not a classical Anglican style, but rather modelled along the lines of many other evangelical churches: praise and worship section, prayers, lessons from Scripture, sermon, dismissal.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, the worship leaders have been experimenting with silence to forge a more contemplative ethos. Communion is celebrated biweekly

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<sup>26</sup> There is no confession or creed in this structure.

and preaching forms the focus of the service. Not surprisingly, the music is more 'blended'.<sup>27</sup> Traditional hymnody sits quite comfortably alongside more contemporary songs. The music is led by a band with vocal soloists, but there is no choral group. Organ is used with the band for hymns. Typical instruments in the band include piano, guitars, drums and occasionally an orchestral instrument. Tim Smith, the overall worship leader for Christ Church, is developing this group in the hope that eventually it will reflect the same expertise as the 7pm service. The worship leader and the minister select the music for this service together.

Worship at 7pm is geared towards the youth. Liturgical integrity is not a priority here, although the communion rite is faithfully followed biweekly. While readings from the lectionary are occasionally included, preaching tends to focus around one text, and most often around a single verse. Thus there is little need for the full selection of communion lessons. The music at the evening service is led by a band. Presently the parish has four bands for this service. They work on a weekly rotational basis. Although the bands are completely independent (each headed by a worship leader), a number of people play in several of the bands, creating some sense of continuity. The worship leaders choose the music for their particular service. Every few months all the worship leaders meet with Tim Smith to evaluate their repertoire and to discuss new material for succeeding weeks and months. Much of the repertoire for this evening service comes from the Modern Worship Song Movement (Hillsong and Soul Survivor<sup>28</sup>). Starfield<sup>29</sup> and Tim Hughes<sup>30</sup> are also popular.

For both the 10am and 7pm services, material reflecting the church seasons seems to be of little relevance. Thematic material forms the basis of the preaching series, which the musicians illuminate in their choice of music.<sup>31</sup>

It is clear to see that Christ Church displays strong elements of invention and integration. The song forge, in particular, is the scene of much local invention. In addition, Tim Smith, Tony Westwood, Richard Haigh and Matthew Denis, as composers and arrangers, are charting new musical ground for the congregation. In terms of worship music, Christ Church has largely abandoned traditional Anglican music in favour of newer worship styles, being especially influenced by Hillsong and Soul Survivor. In essence this is a re-invention of Anglicanism to suit contemporary western culture.

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<sup>27</sup> The term 'blended worship' usually indicates that traditional and contemporary music coexist in the same service. Redman, *The Great Worship Awakening*, 197.

<sup>28</sup> See *Soul Survivor* [<http://www.soulsurvivor.com>] accessed 28 January 2011.

<sup>29</sup> See *Starfield* [<http://www.starfieldonline.com>] accessed 28 January 2011.

<sup>30</sup> See *Tim Hughes* [<http://www.timhughesmusic.com>] accessed 28 January 2011.

<sup>31</sup> Note: these sermon series are not necessarily related to the church seasons.

The 8am service is a clear example of integration where hymns both old and new, as well as contemporary and well-established anthems appear to coexist quite comfortably. The confirmation service at the end of 2009 also displayed an even clearer example of integration. Here hymns, modern songs, traditional anthems, organ, and bands all combined to form one cohesive and satisfying whole. Indeed, services like these are an indication that multiple music traditions can be expressed simultaneously without compromising the integrity of worship.

### **Repertoire at Diocesan College**

The college offers innumerable musical opportunities for its students, both in 'sacred' and 'secular' circumstances. The main focus for this research, however, is purely on the music which is presented in the chapel as part of Christian worship. Mark Mitchell, the Music Director, chooses all the music for chapel use. His selections broadly reflect the church seasons and particular observances.

The daily prayer services include sung psalms and hymns and an organ voluntary. Like St George's Cathedral, Bishops encourages the congregation to participate in psalm singing. All the psalms are pointed for Anglican chant, and are sung in unison by the congregation. A selection of the psalms for congregational use are printed in the 'Bishops Book', an additional collection of extra services, psalms and hymns for use at Bishops Chapel. The words for the psalms are taken from SAPB and the hymns for the prayer services are drawn from AMNS or the 'Bishops Book'. A number of newer choruses and hymns feature fairly regularly in worship, including some South African songs in Xhosa. In fact, the congregational repertoire of these services is well balanced, exposing students to the best of the Anglican tradition abroad and locally.

At the Eucharist, all the congregational responses are sung, usually to a setting by John Rutter. Four hymns are usually included in these services.<sup>32</sup> During the communion, it has become the custom for small chamber groups to perform single movements of larger chamber works. The music adds to the reflective nature of this section of the service. Additionally, it has encouraged boys to explore the world of chamber music, rather than concentrating exclusively on solo performance. Anthems seldom feature at the Eucharist, mainly because of time constraints.

College Evensong was once a weekly tradition at Bishops. Today it is only presented once a term. The chapel choir usually leads the worship, preparing a set of canticles and an anthem. The canticles chosen are usually by English composers, although sometimes the set, which was written for the school by Stephen Carletti (an old boy of the college), is sung. Occasionally a unison version of the canticles is used so that the whole congregation can participate. In recent years, many of the

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<sup>32</sup> Introit, Gradual, Offertory and Recessional.

anthems have been commissioned from local composers or boys in the school. In fact, the composition class at the school has produced a number of exciting young composers. Mitchell tries to encourage their talent by organising premiers of their works. As at the weekday prayer services, the psalm is sung by the whole congregation. On special occasions brass and timpani accompany the hymns and anthem, but the service is usually accompanied on the organ.

'Bishops Praise', a service similar to 'Songs of Praise' has become extremely popular. It is not unusual for the congregational hymns to be accompanied by the orchestra. The congregational items are interspersed by choir anthems and instrumental works.

The annual service of Nine Lessons and Carols, held in November, is a combination of the Advent and Christmas Carol services made famous by King's College in Cambridge. Although the readings are the traditional lessons for the Christmas Carol service, Advent responsories for Matins and Vespers frame the service, and Advent-themed anthems and hymns form the first part of the service. The second portion of the sequence turns its musical attention towards Christmas. In recent years the South African content of the Carol services has increased dramatically. Arrangements and compositions by South Africans (mostly old boys of the college) form the bulk of the choir's offerings. Even Xhosa songs, such as 'Jesu Ukukhanya', have been appearing more regularly.

Like the cathedral, Bishops has been at the forefront of commissioning new sacred music. Perhaps most notable was the ground breaking work *San Gloria* by Pieter Louis van Dijk. Grant McLaughlan must also be mentioned for his mass setting for choir, marimbas and organ which includes Latin, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa lyrics. Stephen Carletti has also made a commendable contribution to Bishops. Besides teaching boys composition, he also contributed a vast number of new works to the college's choral repertoire. The famous naturalised English composer, John Joubert, hailed from Bishops. In fact, his popular carol 'Torches' was written for the Bishops choir.<sup>33</sup> In the late 1940's, Joubert was commissioned by Claude Brown to write a 'Festival Te Deum' for the centenary celebrations.

Bishops is definitely a centre of 'invention', but also a leader in the realm of 'integration'. Successive directors of music have encouraged local composers and students to produce works for Anglican liturgy (particularly Evensong). Thus, a corpus of accessible works has become available to the diocese and province at large.

Bishops has also been at the forefront of the introduction of local hymnody into its daily repertoire. The newest version of the 'Bishops Book' has over fifty additional hymns and songs, of which about

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<sup>33</sup> The original manuscript of this carol is still housed in the Bishops archives.

ten per cent are ethnic African songs. The book also includes a large number of worship songs which are playable on the organ. This is why Bishops can also be regarded as place where music integration is taking place.

On a less impressive scale, 'revival' is also in action, with the introduction of services such as Vespers, for which plainsong hymns and Propers have been revived to suit this setting.

Local Anglican schools such as St Cyprian's and Herschel are following similar worship and music patterns.<sup>34</sup> This integration offers a far more balanced cultural milieu to a generation largely oblivious of the cultural separations of apartheid South Africa.

### Summary

The variety of music performed on any given Sunday around the Diocese of Cape Town is staggering. This variety is a reflection of modern South African society. While there is interest in locally composed music, by far the majority of repertoire is drawn from the international (western) community. As South Africa's democracy grows and develops, the church may be more proactive in encouraging local composers to produce material appropriate for the local social and spiritual situation.

The homogenous Anglican musical scene of the 1960's has changed quite dramatically. While there is an element of unity between parishes with AMNS and AMR, the ubiquity of the "Parish Psalter" and a "hymns only" approach has largely died away. In its place is a vast variety of additional congregational musical material. In fact, the last forty to fifty years have witnessed an unprecedented rise in the participation of the congregation in parochial Anglican worship (see chapters four and five). During this time congregational music has definitely come to the fore and has flourished. Because of the prominence of the Eucharist, congregational settings with newer texts are fairly common throughout the diocese. A few of churches in the diocese still have choral Eucharist settings, but by-and-large these are written with a congregational sung part as well. Today a vast array of scriptural songs is available, and a great variety of them is used in parish worship. These songs, at first very much associated with the charismatic movement, are now widely accepted. The genre of scriptural songs has developed too, so that the musical and textual content is far more complex than twenty or thirty years ago. Another exciting development is that traditionally 'black' church music is beginning to seep into the repertoires of white and coloured congregations. This indeed is the hallmark of the gradual social changes that are in progress in South African society.

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<sup>34</sup> Author's personal experience.

Certainly it would have been unthinkable for such genres to be sung by white congregations at the height of apartheid.

Another marker of the homogenous Anglican musical establishment of the 1960's was a robed choir singing English choral music for Matins and Evensong. With the advent of the parish Eucharist, Sunday Office worship has largely died away, and with that the prominence of the choir. Some choirs have adapted fairly well, using opportunities in the Eucharistic liturgy to sing anthems. Carol services, and other special occasions are also a vehicle for choral music. And so the repertoire of choral music is still alive. While this repertoire is still largely English, or western, it is not the same as it was in the 1960's. Today, because choirs tend to be much smaller, and older, the repertoire is far more likely to be two- or three- part music, and occasionally four-part when the choir is supplemented for special occasions such as Christmas. The repertoire is fairly limited too, because choir members tend not to read music and learn by rote. Thus, many of the older anthems in choir libraries from the English canon are not sung anymore. In all but a very few parishes, the age of choristers is a major problem. Choirs in the diocese will literally die out within the next ten to fifteen years. When this happens, the church may be forced to start hiring secular choirs for special occasions such as 'Nine Lessons and Carols' or ordinations services. In fact, this is already happening. St Andrew's in Newlands now hires the University of Cape Town choir to sing its carol service annually, since they no longer have a choir - this at a parish which had a choir of over twenty members less than twenty years ago.<sup>35</sup>

With the diminishing role of *kerygmatic* music within Anglican worship, there has been an equal but consistent diminishing body of trained organists willing to serve in the church. Undoubtedly, this will affect the future of music within the diocese. The 1960's model relied heavily on organists and choir masters, who, for the most part, no longer exist in society at large. Given this trend, and the church's fairly indifferent stance towards music, it is highly likely that choral worship and organ accompaniment will only be available in a few parishes within the next twenty to thirty years - probably only at parishes where they are willing to spend a significant amount on their musicians and their instruments. Another major consideration is that the organ building community in the area is aging, with no younger people actively involved in the profession.<sup>36</sup> This will also impact on the use of organs in parishes.

An important question to ask at this juncture is: do the musical trends described above reflect the new theological assumptions embodied in APB? There appears to be a largely unstated feeling

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<sup>35</sup> Author's personal experience.

<sup>36</sup> Author's personal experience. In April 2010 one of the two local organ builders, James Riadore, died.



throughout the diocese and province that the theology of much congregational hymnody (and scripture songs) does not address the theological implications of South Africa's new society. In 2005 Provincial Synod noted:

The wording or theology of some (though not all) of the above normal musical resources is no longer appropriate in the congregations whose membership contains or bridges varieties of the following factors: theological emphasis, genders, age groupings, cultural and intercultural groupings.<sup>37</sup>

The Synod went on to resolve that a commission be established to create a local hymn book to address these needs. However, to date, this commission has not been established. Perhaps this a reflection on how seriously the church actually takes music and theology?

When compared with the worship trends of the mid twentieth century, it is plain to see that the role of music, and consequently the concomitant repertoires have changed. No doubt they will continue to change in ways that more adequately reflect the theological perspectives of APB and South Africa's new democratic society.

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<sup>37</sup> Resolution 8 from Provincial Synod 2005, see Appendix L.

## **Chapter Ten**

### **Conclusion**

The chapters of this thesis have explored Anglicanism and the liturgical and musical changes that have taken place over the past fifty years, focusing on the Diocese of Cape Town. In addition it has documented the current trends in congregational music. This chapter serves to draw together a number of the findings from the chapters into a cohesive whole. It also acknowledges where the gaps in research in the field of local Anglican music exist, and how further academic study could rectify this. Finally, it provides recommendations for future studies in Anglican music in Southern Africa, based on these findings.

#### **Theology, liturgy and music**

It is clear that theology, liturgy and music are closely related in the Anglican context. It is also clear that the BCP tradition has shaped Anglican doctrine and worship for almost half a millennium. The twentieth century has witnessed a number of significant theological shifts, which have necessitated enormous changes in both liturgy and music (chapters two and three). In many ways this mirrored aspects of the English Reformation. The author's research and findings indicate unequivocally that Anglicanism is uniquely designed to accommodate many differing theological stances under one umbrella Communion.

In the context of ACSA, liturgical change has been influenced by international liturgical scholarship; ecumenism; the charismatic renewal; Afro-Anglican theology; apartheid; and the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church. Initially these changes were introduced to parishes through a series of experimental liturgies and later via APB. These trends in liturgical revision have had a marked effect on styles of music presented in individual parishes and schools. Before the 1970's, Anglican music was broadly homogenous from parish to parish, despite occasional partisan wrangling between the Anglo-Catholics and the Evangelicals. As chapters seven, eight and nine have demonstrated, the situation today is quite different. And, as chapter four documented, black and white Anglican music in South Africa has evolved independently.

The pivotal question at the beginning of this thesis was: "Did theological and liturgical change directly precipitate the rich variety of musical styles found in parishes today?" The answer to this question is a qualified "yes". Indeed, changing theological emphases, and the liturgical revolution have definitely affected music in worship. However, social factors outside of the church have also

played an equally important role in the church music revolution. Both the main theological/liturgical changes and the social developments are summarised below.

Another crucial question was “Did the Liturgical Committee take music seriously when it was formulating APB?” My initial hypothesis was that music was a low priority for APB’s architects. However, my research shows that the committee did consider minute musical details with great care. The musical rubrics of APB outnumber those of either BCP 1662 or SAPB. Furthermore, some of those rubrics are designed specifically for chorally led worship (particularly in the Easter Triduum). What is evident is that the committee favoured hymn singing as opposed to fully choral services. Since APB was designed for use in parishes, this is not surprising. No doubt cathedral-styled worship would also have been endorsed for those cathedrals and parishes which supported such traditions.

The history of Anglican music in the Diocese of Cape Town illustrates a number of trends which further enlighten the current musical situation. Firstly, South Africa has never had the financial resources to support daily choral services. Some of the province’s cathedrals have occasionally presented weekday choral services, but this has never been a consistent practice. Secondly, parishes in the Province have seldom aspired to the cathedral style of choral worship. Centres of excellence have always existed, but by and large parishes have usually preferred congregational singing and chanting to chorally composed canticles. In these contexts, the parish choir tended to lead congregational singing. It is true that parish choirs enjoyed singing anthems, but not on a weekly basis. Usually these anthems were presented for special occasions. Thirdly, the shortage of organists is not a new phenomenon. Organists have always been in short supply in South Africa. Initially this was because there were so few organs in the country and because qualified teachers were scarce. Now it is because the organ is not particularly popular in public opinion, and because fewer people are willing to make the enormous commitment required to learn the organ. Finally, music has never been a particularly important factor on the church’s agenda. The Anglican hierarchy, and diocesan synods tend to give very little time to issues which surround music. Canonically bishops are required to oversee the hymnody which is sung in their dioceses. However, one seldom sees or hears of any guidance on this topic. Additionally, the church has not ever planned ahead for musical innovation. It is not surprising therefore that the church is faced with a shortage of musicians and very little locally composed music for the rites of ACSA.

Another major question this thesis aimed to answer was: “What were the specific theological developments which affected worship in Southern Africa?” These are summarised briefly below.

### **Eucharistic worship**

First and foremost, the shift from regular Office worship to weekly Eucharists in Anglican churches has necessitated a host of musical reforms. The most obvious change in this regard is that Matins completely died away as the main Sunday service. Its twin evening service, Evensong, has not fared much better - although a few parishes continue to present this sung office on Sunday evenings. As a consequence, the inherited corpus of music for Matins and Evensong, including chanted psalmody and anthems, began to fade in significance. Moreover, the congregational nature of the modern Eucharist precluded a chorally dominated service. This left formal choirs directionless. But the shift from Office to Sacramental worship has also left a gap in Anglican piety. The distinct nature of the offices and in particular, their devotional aspects, have been neglected.

The gradual declericalisation of the church also affected worship. Among other things it led to the emancipation of the laity, which will be discussed below. But it also completely undermined the inherited cathedral-model choir which “offered” worship on behalf of the congregation. Newer liturgies allow the congregation to offer worship to God on their own behalf. In addition, lay people are far more involved in leading the service than was common fifty years ago. In essence, new liturgies generally cater for corporate, rather than spectator, worship. Choirs promoting the older theological and liturgical stance have declined steadily as a result.

### **Full and active participation**

Active congregational participation has been a major priority of theological and liturgical reformers. This has definitely had an impact on church music. It is clear from the chapters on South African liturgy and music (chapters four, five, six, seven, eight and nine), that there has been a distinct shift towards congregational forms of music. In the rubrics of APB there are very few accommodations for chorally led worship, but in contrast, there are numerous provisions for congregational song. Public opinion in Anglican circles has also favoured congregational music. For example, when composition competitions for new settings of L75 texts were organised, almost all entries were congregationally oriented. Very few local choral settings actually exist.

The emancipation of the laity has also affected musical worship in the church. Professionalism is no longer a prerequisite for church musical participation. As a consequence specialised training for church musicians is not generally required for parish musicians today. But should Anglican “Art Music” be the preserve of parish churches anyway? Although this seems to have been the norm since the choral revival, towards the end of the nineteenth century, there certainly is no precedence

for it in the sweep of Anglican musical history (see chapter three). Rather, musical trends in parishes have tended to be dominated by folk styles.

Where should Anglican “Art Music” find a home then? The most obvious place is in a cathedral. Since this is the mother church of each diocese and also the centre of diocesan worship, it makes sense that the cathedral should strive towards high musical standards. There is no reason why parishes should not cultivate trained choirs which present the best Anglican choral music. But in general this will be the exception rather than the rule. Parish churches are meant for ordinary people where they can identify with God and worship him with *their* best worship. This is probably not art music!

Although it is clear from chapter seven that the organ is still fairly popular in parishes, other instruments are beginning to find favour. The piano is one of these instruments. Only fifty years ago it would have been unheard of to lead worship from a piano - organs and harmoniums were preferred. The guitar has also become very popular. These instruments appear to confirm the ideological shift in parishes from “mini cathedrals” back to normal parishes. Once again parish bands are finding favour, much as they did in seventeenth and eighteenth century Britain. Also, folk styles have found a ready home in parishes - hence the rise in popularity of the guitar. In fact, folk styles suit the participatory worship ethos well.

In the realm of composition, the emancipation of the laity has also had major consequences. Today it is acceptable for amateur musicians to write music for congregational use. In the past this was usually left to professional musicians. Even John and Charles Wesley preferred to ask trained composers to set their hymns to music (see chapter three). Sometimes professionally composed music is too difficult for ordinary folk. However, amateur congregational music has occasionally bordered on the banal. Many a professional musician has left the church rather than play these simple ditties. Nevertheless, a number of well written pieces by amateurs have become worship classics. There does, however, appear to be a move back to professionalism even in Charismatic-like oriented worship. Ironically, the accusation that traditional choral music tends to preclude congregational participation now holds true for many contemporary worship bands whose music is too difficult for the average parishioner.

### Localisation

The post-imperialist theology of God and culture has had an incredible impact particularly on non-Western parishes. The realisation that *all* cultures potentially carry God-given attributes, has meant that traditional Anglican music composed in the English style is not necessarily relevant to South

African contexts. The Roman Catholic Church has taken this shift incredibly seriously, producing a host of ethnic liturgies and music. The Anglican Church's response has been very slow, but ideas of localisation are gradually filtering through to the parishes. Afro-Anglican conferences and the Kanamai Statement have provided helpful directives for the implementation of localisation in the church. But in many places these directives have yet to be fully realized or even attempted. A number of black congregations in Cape Town are using drums and marimbas to accompany some of their songs. Nevertheless, since marimbas are not locally recognised as traditionally Xhosa, it remains to be seen whether true localisation has actually taken place.

### **Social change**

A number of social changes have had an impact on parish music. The most important for South Africans was the collapse of apartheid. The transition to democracy in 1994 heralded a new society based on respect and tolerance and affirming unity in diversity. The Anglican Church had been trying to foreshadow this society for about fifteen years before the 1994 elections, by introducing the concept of localisation liturgically and by preaching about equality and human dignity. Luminaries such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu were leaders in this movement. For music this has meant that many more local styles have been affirmed and introduced at parish level. In diocesan services it is now commonplace to find a diversity of languages and musical styles all combined into a satisfactory whole.

The gradual emancipation of women in broader Western society has had a positive effect in most places. Today women can share equally in the leadership of worship and, in the Anglican Church, can celebrate the Eucharist. In terms of music, the tradition of all male choirs has given way to mixed choral groups. A growing problem is that men tend to shy away from choral singing. In some parishes the choir is comprised entirely of women.

Children's choirs have suffered most from changing social conditions. Today children are busier than ever before with fully packed school schedules. Additionally, families often choose to go away over weekends and are not available to sing regularly in church choirs.

Another of the more alarming social trends is the need for instant gratification. For music this is disastrous. Musicians only grow with dedication and discipline. Neither of these qualities is as highly prized in the twenty-first century as before. What this means is that children tend to prefer easier instruments rather than the organ or the piano. Not surprisingly therefore, the church faces a massive shortage of trained musicians.

### Role of Music

All these factors have contributed to rather startling changes in the roles of music for worship. Chapter six explored the theological/musical undergirding of the three official prayer books of the Province. It was argued that APB is basically *koinoniac* in outlook, with opportunities for both *kerygmatic* and *leitourgic* moments. Chapter four sought to illustrate how a number of premier parishes in the diocese had tended towards *kerygmatic* music in the mid twentieth century, with the other congregations preferring *koinoniac* styled worship. However, chapter seven showed that today the diocese generally tends towards a more *leitourgic* stance, at least when analysed according to the survey. Another, equally important, observation was made in chapter seven. While the theological role of music is sometimes considered by clergy and musicians, the more dominant role of music is usually to delineate a particular style of worship. In a way, music has been used to categorise people into certain 'worship' groups. It was also noted that the role of music is different in some homogenous congregations. For example, black parishes use music to build community, and to carry a large portion of the liturgy.

The wide diversity in the theological and social roles of church music is reflected in the variety of music performed every week throughout the diocese. Chapter eight and nine listed and commented on the repertoire that is used in parishes. Chapter nine, in particular, found that the changes in theology and liturgy, over the last forty to fifty years, have not been adequately reflected in the music of congregations, particularly in hymns and songs. The older-styled English canticles and anthems are gradually declining in popularity, and this in itself may be attributed to the natural shift in theological perspectives - especially since the English nature of the church is directly linked to colonialism.

### Possibilities for continued academic study

This study is principally an historical survey - the first of its kind in Southern Africa. Thus, there is ample scope for future academic investigations into the music life of the local church.

A study addressing the impact of the colonial aspect of Anglicanism on music, especially in black and coloured parishes would be an enlightening venture. Musical authenticity could be a major focus of this type of investigation. And, in particular, a critique of Rev. David Dargie's compositional workshops may be necessary.

There is the possibility of creating a full historical survey of the RSCM in Southern Africa. There is adequate archival material, especially in the individual branches. This would be valuable for the local RSCM as they approach fifty years of active service in South Africa. In particular, a critique of their

work, and an evaluation of the impact on parishes would be useful to the individual branches as they prepare for the future.

A catalogue of locally composed music for the APB rites would be useful for the Province. Much music lies hidden in parish music libraries, and if time is taken to find and document it, many new and useful music publications may result.

Another interesting avenue of research would be to trace the historical development of the Anglican Church's local vernacular hymnbooks. In particular, the genesis of texts and tunes which were composed by South African nationals would add considerable knowledge where none presently exists.

### Looking to the future

The Anglican Church has always prided itself on the *via media* theologically. This concept could be applied to church music too. Ideally, a musical *via media* would ensure that the church retains and cherishes the best of the past, but continues to add outstanding examples of contemporary music to its existing repertoire. For the South African context, the musical *via media* would also encourage local traditions to develop, rather than always relying on English, American or Australian sources. On a more local level, it would ensure that music represents the cultures of the congregations, but at the same time those of the wider Province (which includes Portuguese speaking nations such as Angola and Mozambique). This would be a noteworthy aim for the musicians and clergy of the Province.

Another exceptionally important mission of the church is to reverse cultural segregation. Music presents one of the most obvious ways of accomplishing this. For example, traditional freedom songs can be sung in white parishes during the season of Lent to emphasise the liberation aspects of Jesus' death on the cross. Songs like "Siyahamba" are ideal for Epiphany! The Masiti Amen can conclude the Great Thanksgiving with joy and excitement. There are hosts of other Christian ethnic songs that are suitable for general worship, but are not available for general consumption. Additionally, the church may consider initiating musical "sharing" programmes where different cultures can share their favourite hymns and songs in a neutral environment. This is particularly important for white congregations, since the majority of parishioners have seldom encountered black culture in any meaningful way.

During the 1969 Consultation on Church Music, a black Anglican delegate noted "Our church does not have sufficient well-trained men, sufficiently free from other duties, to be able to undertake



intensive work in Church music.”<sup>1</sup> Forty years later the church appears to face the same problem. That conference decided that the training of cantors, choir directors and composers was a priority then. The author echoes this mandate now, calling on the church hierarchy, and organisations such as the RSCM, to support endeavours by local musicians to fulfil this call. It is equally important to provide special training for clergy in liturgy and hymnody.

The 1969 conference also noted that black folk music was not readily available for study and performance. The work of organisations such as the South African Music Rights Organisation has rectified this problem. Now it is important to encourage local composers to internalise these songs in order to produce a characteristically South African corpus of folk-like church music. Rev. David Dargie pioneered such endeavours in the Roman Catholic Church. There is no reason why the Anglican Church cannot do the same.

One of the alarming trends in the local church is that it has allowed the illegal photocopying of copyrighted music to continue unabated throughout the province. A solution would be to educate congregations about the correct use of their copy licenses, i.e. what they do and do not cover, etc. This could be done through the *Southern Anglican* magazine and local church newspapers. Another solution to curbing this illegal activity, is for the church to sponsor the publication of anthologies of suitable South African music for worship. Local publications such as these would cut the exorbitant prices of importing legal international music.

The major theological changes of the twentieth century have made a number of hymns redundant and out-dated. Clergy and musicians have noticed this, and in 2005 they tabled a motion at Provincial Synod to address the problem. The synod resolved that:

The Metropolitan be respectfully requested to establish a Standing Commission on church music, charged with providing authorised, effective, and moving music resources for the CPSA [sic] that both retain key theological features of the Christian faith and are also inclusive of the local languages and cultures of [Southern Africa]; gender; age groups; [differing theological stances]; and [different musical styles].<sup>2</sup>

Yet, no such standing commission has ever been established. Is it not an ideal time to revive interest in this resolution? One of the major directives for a committee such as this would be to encourage a vibrant local tradition of hymn and song writing, especially using the diverse languages of the province. It would also be rewarding to commission hymns which are macaronic, e.g. Bayeti Nkosi. Additionally, newer hymns and songs about contemporary South African issues such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, corruption, human dignity, xenophobia, etc. would benefit local congregations.

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<sup>1</sup> *Consultation on African Church Music*, 18 (Cory Library)

<sup>2</sup> *Motions and Resolutions from Provincial Synod 2005*, 36 – 7

Ideally, the Standing Commission on Church Music would outlive the hymnal project, supervising musical development in the province in much the same way as the Liturgical Standing Committee oversees provincial liturgies. Preferably the commission would include representation from a number of local cultures and language groups.

One of the most important recommendations that can be made is for the training of young musicians. If the church requires well trained musicians in the future it is particularly important to begin investing in young people now. These young musicians need to be exposed to the great diversity of Christian music, traditional, ethnic and contemporary. Let us equip them to establish a style that truly represents our own South African culture.

If the church is serious about the contribution music can make to worship, it may consider ordaining a number of theologically trained musicians to the priesthood. In this way they could serve as assistants in congregations (not necessarily exclusively as musicians) and be able to earn a living within the church. This would go a long way in securing the musical future of the Anglican Church.

The musical life of ACSA is rich and diverse. Due to theological and liturgical shifts it is no longer dominated exclusively by English models. Indeed, the diversity one can find throughout the province is now much more representative of the cultures of the sub-continent. The potential for a flourishing local music tradition exists which can serve the church well into the future. All that remains is for the potential to be fully realised.



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### Introduction

This bibliography is divided into two main sections: primary sources and secondary sources. The primary sources are separated according to specific media. Archival material is listed first, according to individual archives, newspapers and letters follow, interviews with the author are listed fourth and include the names of the interviewee, together with the place and date of the interview. Parish visitations, prayer and hymn books have also been included in this section. The secondary sources contain details for all the books that were consulted for the study.

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## Appendix A

### Order of Holy Communion according to the Church of South India (1954)

Hymn

Collect for Purity

Gloria/Trisagion/Litany/Hymn

Confession and absolution

Collect

Old Testament Lesson

Psalm/Hymn

Epistle

Gospel

Sermon

Nicene Creed/Apostles' Creed

Notices

Collection (Hymn may be sung)

Prayers (litany form)

First Benediction

Peace Greeting

Offertory Hymn

Offering of the Gifts

Sursum Corda

Preface

Sanctus and Benedictus

Institution narrative

Memorial Acclamation

Epiclesis

Lord's Prayer

Prayer of Humble Access

Fraction

Agnus Dei

Administration of Communion

Final Prayers (prayers of self-offering)

Blessing

*The Lord's Supper: Church of South India*

[[http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/India/SIndia\\_euchr.htm](http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/India/SIndia_euchr.htm)] accessed 20 October 2010.



## Appendix B

### Resolutions from Lambeth Conference 1988

#### **Resolution 22**

##### **Christ and Culture**

This Conference:

- (a) Recognises that culture is the context in which people find their identity.
- (b) Affirms that God's love extends to people of every culture and that the Gospel judges every culture according to the Gospel's own criteria of truth, challenging some aspects of culture while endorsing and transforming others for the benefit of the Church and society.
- (c) Urges the Church everywhere to work at expressing the unchanging Gospel of Christ in words, actions, names, customs, liturgies, which communicate relevantly in each contemporary society.

#### **Resolution 47**

##### **Liturgical Freedom**

This Conference resolves that each province should be free, subject to essential universal Anglican norms of worship, and to a valuing of traditional liturgical materials, to seek that expression of worship which is appropriate to its Christian people in their cultural context.

*Resolutions from 1988* [<http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1988>] accessed 20 October 2010.





## Appendix C

### Comparison between BPC 1662 and SAPB

#### **Lord's Supper/Communion 1662**

Lord's Prayer (priest)  
Collect for purity (priest)  
Ten Commandments

Collects  
Epistle  
Gospel

Creed  
Notices  
Sermon  
Offertory Sentences

Prayers of the Church  
Exhortations for Communion  
Confession and absolution  
Comfortable Words  
Sursum Corda  
[Proper Preface]  
Sanctus  
Prayer of Humble Access  
Consecration

Administration of Communion  
Lord's Prayer  
Prayer of self offering  
Concluding Prayers  
Gloria  
Blessing  
[Additional Collects]

#### **Lord's Supper/Communion 1954**

Lord's Prayer (priest)  
Collect for purity (priest)  
Ten Commandments (Lent and Advent)  
[New Commandments]

Kyrie  
Collects  
Epistle  
Gospel  
[Sermon]

Creed  
Notices  
Sermon  
Offertory Sentences  
Blessing of the gifts  
Special intercessions  
Prayers of the Church

Confession and absolution  
Comfortable Words  
Sursum Corda  
[Proper Preface]  
Sanctus

Consecration  
Prayer of self-offering  
Lord's Prayer  
Prayer of Humble Access  
Administration of Communion

Concluding Prayers  
Gloria  
Blessing  
[Additional Collects]



## Appendix D

### Eucharistic ordo for 'A Liturgy for Africa'

#### **The Liturgy for Africa 1964**

Collect for purity (priest)  
Kyrie or Summary of Commandments or Ten Commandments  
Confession and absolution (lay leadership accommodated)  
Gloria  
Collect/s  
Old Testament reading  
Psalm/Benedicite  
Epistle  
Te Deum/Benedictus/Hymn  
Gospel  
Sermon  
Creed [Apostles Creed (when the service does not include the Eucharist)]  
The Intercession/s – 2 forms (lay leadership)  
Prayer of Humble Access

[Alternative ending if the service is not a Eucharist]

Offertory  
The Peace  
Blessing/s of the gifts  
Sursum Corda  
Sanctus  
Consecration  
Proclamation of Faith  
Additional prayers  
Lord's Prayer  
Fraction

Administration of Communion  
Psalm 103/Canticle  
Concluding Prayers  
Dismissal



## Appendix E

### SAPB and L75 Eucharistic rites

#### **Lord's Supper/Communion 1954**

Lord's Prayer (priest)  
Collect for purity (priest)  
Ten Commandments (Lent and Advent)  
[New Commandments]  
Kyrie

Collect/s

Epistle

Gospel  
[Sermon]  
Creed  
Sermon

Offertory Sentences  
Blessing of the gifts  
Special intercessions  
Prayers of the Church  
Confession and absolution  
Comfortable Words

Sursum Corda  
[Proper Preface]  
Sanctus  
Consecration

Prayer of self offering

Lord's Prayer  
Prayer of humble access  
Administration of Communion  
Concluding prayers

Gloria  
Blessing  
[Additional Collects]

#### **The Eucharist 1975**

Greeting  
Gloria

Collect for purity (congregation)

Kyrie  
Ten Commandments (Lent)  
Confession and absolution  
Collect/s  
Old Testament reading  
Psalm  
New Testament reading  
Canticle/Hymn  
Gospel  
Sermon  
Creed

The Prayers (4 forms)  
The Peace  
Offertory  
Blessing/s of the gifts

#### *One of three Eucharistic prayers*

Sursum Corda  
[Proper Preface]  
Sanctus [and Benedictus]  
Consecration  
The mystery of Faith  
Additional prayers

Fraction  
Agnus Dei  
Lord's Prayer  
Prayer of humble access  
Administration of Communion  
Concluding prayers  
Prayer of self offering

Blessing

Dismissal



## Appendix F

### Morning Prayer compared

Morning Prayer (1662)	Morning Prayer (1954)	Morning Prayer (1975)	Morning Prayer (1989)
Sentences Confession and absolution Lord's Prayer	Sentences Confession and absolution (provision for non-ordained leadership)	<b>Praise</b> Sentences	<b>Introduction</b> Greeting and sentences
Versicles Venite (Psalm 95)	Versicles Venite (Psalm 95)	Versicles Venite (cento)	<b>Praise</b> Versicles Venite (cento)/Jubilate/Easter Anthems
Proper Psalm First Reading Te Deum/Benedicite Second Reading Hymn Benedictus/Jubilate Deo Apostles' Creed (sung/said) [Athanasian Creed] Greeting Kyrie	Proper Psalm First Reading Te Deum/Benedicite/Urbs Fortitudinis Second Reading Hymn Benedictus Apostles' Creed (said) [Quicumque vult] Greeting Kyrie	<b>Penitence</b> Confession and absolution <b>The Word of God</b> Proper Psalm First Reading Proper Canticle Second Reading  Magnificat Apostles' Creed <b>The Prayers</b>  General intercession Lord's Prayer Collects	<b>Penitence</b> Confession and absolution <b>The Word of God</b> Proper Psalm First Reading Benedictus/Canticle Second Reading  Te Deum/Canticle/Hymn Apostles' Creed  Kyrie  Lord's Prayer Responses/General  Intercession and Collects
Lord's Prayer Responses and Collects Anthem	Lord's Prayer Responses and Collects Hymn or Anthem Optional Prayers Prayer of St Chrysostom		
Prayers (King, Royal Family, Clergy, St Chrysostom) Grace (2 Cor 8)	Grace	Grace [Second Prayers] Collect Congregational	Grace [Second Prayers] Collect Congregational Blessing
			Blessing





## Appendix G

### Evening Prayer compared

Evening Prayer (1662)	Evening Prayer (1954)	Evening Prayer (1975)	Evening Prayer (1989)
Sentences Confession and absolution		<b>Praise</b> Sentences	<b>Introduction</b> Greeting
Lord's Prayer Versicles	Versicles	Versicles Psalm 134 <b>Penitence</b> Confession and absolution <b>The Word of God</b> Proper Psalm First Reading	<b>Praise</b> Sentence and Versicles Psalm 134/Hail gladdening <b>Penitence</b> Confession and absolution <b>The Word of God</b> Proper Psalm First Reading
Proper Psalm First Reading (OT)	Proper Psalm First Reading Hymn Magnificat Second Reading Nunc Dimittis Apostles' Creed (said) [Quicunque vult] (Trinity)	Proper Canticle Second Reading Nunc Dimittis Apostles' Creed	Magnificat/Canticle Second Reading Nunc Dimittis/Canticle/Hymn Apostles' Creed [Baptismal Creed]
Greeting Kyrie	Greeting Kyrie	<b>The Prayers</b>	Kyrie
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	General intercession Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer
Responses and Collects (3) Anthem	Responses and Collects (3) Hymn or Anthem Optional Prayers Prayer of St Chrysostom	Collects (2)	<b>The Prayers</b> Responses/General
Prayers (King, Royal Family, Clergy, St Chrysostom) Grace (2 Cor 8)	Grace/"Let us bless the Lord"	Grace [Second Prayers] Collect Congregational Blessing	Intercession and Collects (3)  Grace [Second Prayers] Collect Congregational Blessing



## Appendix H

### Musical rubrics

#### **Book of Common Prayer 1662**

“...the minister shall read with a loud voice...” (this is a common rubric to encourage audibility)

#### Morning Prayer

Venite – said or sung

Te Deum – said or sung

Apostles’ Creed – sung or said

“In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.”

#### Evening Prayer

Psalms – said or sung

Apostles’ Creed – said or sung

“In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.”

#### Quicumque Vult

Sung or said

#### Litany

Sung or said

#### Communion

Creed – sung or said

Sanctus – sung or said

Gloria – sung or said

#### Wedding

Psalms – said or sung

#### Burial

Opening sentences – said or sung (by Priest and Clerkes)

Man is born... - said or sung (by Priest and Clerkes)

I heard a voice... - said or sung

#### Form of Prayer at Sea

“After this hymn may be sung the *Te Deum*.”

#### Ordering of Deacons

Litany – said or sung

Communion service – sung or said

#### Ordering of Priests

Communion – sung or said

*Veni Creator* – sung or said (responsorially – as in SAPB) or another hymn

Creed – sung or said

#### Ordering of Bishops

*Veni Creator* – sung or said (responsorially – as in SAPB) or another hymn

#### Forms of Prayer with Thanksgiving to Almighty God

Litany – said or sung

### South African Prayer Book

“distinct and audible voice”, “And he that readeth the Epistle or Gospel shall turn to the people that all may hear” (these are common rubrics, probably designed to encourage audibility)

#### Offices

Pg. 10 Hymn after the second lesson during Morning Prayer

Pg. 13 “Here may follow a Hymn or Anthem” during Morning Prayer

Pg. 14 Hymn after the first lesson during Evening Prayer – Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis sung too (implication).

Pg. 17 “Here may follow a Hymn or Anthem” during Evening Prayer.

Pg. 20 “On the appointed days these Anthems may be sung or said before and after Magnificat”, referring to the Advent Anthems.

#### Eucharist

The Eucharist is free of any musical references either for hymns or singing in general.

#### Confirmation

Pg. 433 “The service shall be said from the words, *Our help is*, etc., down to the Laying on of Hands by the Bishop, without any interruptions by preaching or other instruction, or by the singing of any hymn or anthem” in the Order of Confirmation.

Pg. 435 “Here may be sung *Veni Creator Spiritus*, or some other hymn to the Holy Spirit, all kneeling” in the order of Confirmation.

#### Burial

Pg. 471 “The Priest and Clerkes, meeting the corpse at the entrance of the church-yard, and going before it, either into the church or towards the grave, shall say or sing one or more of the following sentences” in Order for the Burial of the Dead.

Pg. 480 “When they come to the grave, while the corpse is made ready to be laid in the earth, the Priest shall say, or the Priest and Clerkes shall sing,...” in Order for the Burial of the Dead, and later on the same page, “Then shall be said or sung,...”

Pg. 486 As above (pg. 471) in At the Burial of a Baptized Infant.

Pg. 489 As above (pg. 480, no. 1) in At the Burial of a Baptized Infant.

Pg. 490 As above (pg. 480, no. 2) in At the Burial of a Baptized Infant.

#### Ordination

Pg. 692 “After which shall be sung or said by the Bishop (the persons to be ordained Priests all kneeling) *Veni, Creator Spiritus*; the Bishop beginning, and the Priests, and others that are present, answering by verses as followeth...(responsorial style)” in Ordering of Priests.

Pg. 702 “Then shall the Bishop elect put on the rest of his habit. He shall then kneel down, and *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, shall be sung or said over him, the Archbishop beginning, and the Bishops, with others that are present, answering verses, as followeth...” (as above, pg. 692) in The Consecration of Bishops.

## Anglican Prayer Book 1989

### General Rubrics

Pg. 13 "**Musical settings.** Other versions of liturgical texts may be substituted when a musical setting composed for them is being used."

Pg. 13 "**Hymns and Acts of Praise** may be introduced where appropriate in the services."

Pg. 13 "**Saying and Singing.** Where the rubrics direct a section to be 'said' it may be sung; and vice versa

### Offices

Pg. 41 "6. Hymns and acts of praise may be introduced where appropriate."

Pg. 47 A hymn may be sung in place of the *Te Deum*.

Pg. 55 Hail gladdening Light – directly from the hymn book?

Pg. 58 A hymn may be sung in place of the *Nunc Dimittis*

### Eucharist

Pg. 103 "4. Hymns and acts of praise may be introduced at appropriate places."

Pg. 104 "Another canticle or hymn may replace 5 [Glory to God]."

Pg. 107 "A hymn may replace the canticle" and "A canticle of hymn follows".

An alternative order for celebrating the Eucharist

Pg. 131 "These section may include readings, music, dance and other art forms, comment, discussion and silence."

### Holy Week and Easter Vigil

Pg. 172 "The scripture readings which follow, and the solemn reading or singing of the Passion, take us to the heart of this week."

Pg. 172 "This acclamation is sung."

Pg. 173 "During the procession, hymns in honour of Christ the King, such as 'All glory, laud and honour', or psalms such as 24 and 47 may be sung."

Pg. 185 "The following hymn may be sung."

Pg. 189 "If the psalm is to be sung, it is better to choose a single chant. If a double chant is used, the refrain must be sung to the second part."

Pg. 194 "The reproaches are said, all kneeling. The traditional form may be substituted when a musical setting requires it."

Pg. 197 "This hymn may be sung unless it has been included in the Reproaches."

Pg. 204 "The Deacon, or if there is not one, a priest, lifts the Candle high and sings alone...and all respond."

"In the body of the church the Deacon lifts the Candle high and sings a second time."

"When the Deacon arrives before the altar he faces the people and sings a third time."

"The Deacon sings the Easter Proclamation by the light of the Candle, the congregation standing holding lighted candles. The Proclamation may be sung by a lay person. It may be shortened by omitting the bracketed sentences."

Pg. 206 "If this sentence is omitted then is sung."

Pg. 214 "Then is sung from Psalm 118" and "In place of 84 a hymn with Alleluias may be sung."

Pg. 221 "The hymn *Veni Creator*, or some other hymn addressed to the Holy Spirit, is sung."

Pg. 226 "During the sprinkling there may be sung one or more of the following

[I saw water flowing...]

Or

A hymn, baptismal in character  
Or  
The Litany of Redemption”

#### Baptism and Confirmation

Pg. 365 “Hymns may be sung at appropriate places in the services.”

Pg. 375 “The hymn *Veni Creator*, or some other hymn addressed to the Holy Spirit, is sung.”

Pg. 392 “The hymn *Veni Creator*, or some other hymn addressed to the Holy Spirit, is sung.”

Pg. 406 “Psalm 100 may follow, or a hymn may be sung.”

Pg. 412 “Psalm 100 may follow, or a hymn may be sung.”

#### Weddings

Pg. 460 “Hymns may be sung at suitable points in the service.”

Pg. 467 “The Priest and the couple go to the Lord’s table. A psalm may be used, or a hymn may be sung.”

Pg. 474 “The Priest and the couple go to the Lord’s table. A psalm may be used, or a hymn may be sung.”

Pg. 482 “The Priest and the couple go to the Lord’s table. A psalm may be used, or a hymn may be sung.”

Pg. 486 “A hymn may be sung.”

#### Funerals

Pg. 530 “Hymns may also be sung during the procession and at appropriate places in the services.”

Pg. 540 “As the coffin is taken out of the church, sections 35 – 37 may be used or a hymn sung.”

Pg. 543 “As the coffin is taken out of the church, one or more of the following may be said or a hymn sung.”

Pg. 549 “As the coffin is taken out of the church, sections 35 – 37 may be used or a hymn sung.”

Pg. 552 “As the coffin is taken out of the church, sections 35 – 37 may be used or a hymn sung.”

#### Ordination

Pg. 585 “The hymn *Veni Creator* is sung, unless priests are also to be ordained, when some other hymn or anthem to the Holy Spirit is sung at this point.”

Pg. 586 “A hymn or anthem may be sung.”

Pg. 590 “The hymn *Veni Creator* is sung.”

Pg. 600 “The hymn *Veni Creator* is sung.”

Pg. 603 “A fanfare may sound and the people may express their joy by clapping or in some other manner.”

## Appendix J

### Historical sketch of the South African RSCM by Rev. Owen Franklin

The first South African Summer School of Church Music was held in Cape Town in 1959, directed by Dr. Gerald Knight. In those days they were very simple indeed: some hymns, psalms and Mag. and Nunc Set A! Summer Schools continued to be held here until 1963 when it was agreed to spread them around the country and with the establishment of 4 branches of the RSCM, these popular residential gatherings of between 120 and 160 singers young and old now take place in Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg (Natal), Johannesburg (Northern) and Grahamstown (Eastern Cape) in rotation. Overseas directors have included Allan Wicks, Christopher Robinson, John Bertalot, Gerre Hancock and Donald Hunt. A special Cathedral course was directed by Simon Preston.

With 2 orchestras in the city, Gape Town has made use of players whenever possible in Summer Schools, usually including a sacred concert - in recent years, Haydn's 'Sancti Nicolai' Mass, Britten's 'St Nicolas'-or liturgical Mozart's 'Coronation' Mass, or involving a brass ensemble - for Vaughan Williams' 'O Clap your hands' and various hymn arrangements.

The aim of our Summer Schools has been two-fold: to introduce music appropriate for parish use, particularly the Eucharist; and to extend singers by giving the opportunity of singing music that could never be tackled in the home situation.

The advent of television 10 years ago and the turbulence of life in the sprawling townships of the Cape Flats have contributed to the demise of Evensong in all but a few churches. Another major concern has been the fall-off in numbers of young singers, especially boys. A recent Michaelmas holiday 3-day course for trebles produced 28 keen youngsters - 7 of them boys and 21 girls, with fewer boys learning the rudiments and repertoire, there are fewer tenors and basses available in the parish choirs.

The customary annual RSCM Festival Service in the Cathedral Church of St. George the Martyr has failed to draw as many singers as in the past. Attempts have been made to gather people together in the different regions of the Diocese of Cape Town, thereby reducing travelling time and cost and also meeting local needs more specifically. So Malmesbury, Paarl and Elgin have featured alongside the popular Helderberg (Somerset West) and Fish Hoek Festivals. Outside the Peninsula many church singers are Afrikaans-speaking and are familiar with tonic solfa rather than staff notation. While there is much enthusiasm evident, the musical standards are generally very low. We hope that Hymns Ancient and Modern's new tonic solfa edition will prove valuable.



Saturday afternoon events continue to include help for organists and 'Meet, Eat and Sing' gatherings are popular as occasions for introducing new music.

The charismatic renewal has led to considerable upheaval in some churches. Organists reluctant to use hymns and choruses of poor musical (and theological) quality have sometimes been edged out or have resigned, some organs have been left gathering dust while piano, guitar and other instruments have been introduced, together with collections of 'renewal' music (often without episcopal permission). The RSCM's attempts like 'Songs of the Spirit' have not proved popular with either 'renewed' or traditional musicians.

The generally poor remuneration of organists and choirmasters, the prevailing clerical acceptance of whoever is available, whatever their skill, and the low priority of music on parish budgets do not bode well. Too few regular organists are training young assistants. A sub-committee of our branch is trying to set up a recognised level of training in organ playing, service accompaniment, choir training and liturgical background. A week-long intensive course was run in conjunction with the University of Cape Town's College of Music and Department of Extra-Mural Studies and this was very well received by some 15 participants.

While most RSCM choirs are Anglican, the number of personal members of other denominations is increasing and a wide cross-section of city churches took part in a Pentecost Sunday 1936 'Songs of Praise' ecumenical service in the Gardens Presbyterian Church, under RSCM auspices.

Long-serving personalities in this branch must surely include the late Dr. Claude Brown, Hon. RSCM, for over 30 years Director of Music at the Diocesan College; Henry King, now into his 20<sup>th</sup> year as organist and choirmaster at Bonteheuwel (the 'cathedral' of the Cape Flats); and Barry Smith, ARSCM, in his 23<sup>rd</sup> year as Cathedral organist and Master of the Choristers, and Chairman of the Cape Town branch.

The cost of importing music from abroad is fast becoming prohibitive. This is surely an incentive to local composers and publishers to provide for local church music needs.

We have come a long way since 1959. Laus Deo!

## Appendix K

### Directors and venues of South African RSCM Summer Schools

Year	Venue	Director
1967	Michaelhouse	Gerald Knight
1968	Johannesburg	Gerald Knight
1969	Cape Town	Allan Wicks
1970	Michaelhouse	Gerald Knight
1971	Cape Town	John Bertalot
1972	Johannesburg	Lionel Dakers
1973	Grahamstown	Barry Rose
1974	Cape Town	Christopher Robinson
1975	Pietermaritzburg	John Birch
1976	Johannesburg	Roy Massey
1977	Grahamstown	Lionel Dakers
1978	Cape Town	Allan Wicks
1979	Pietermaritzburg	Richard Seal
1980	Johannesburg	Martin How
1981	Grahamstown	George Guest
1982	Cape Town	Gerre Hancock
1983	Durban	Bryan Anderson
1984	Johannesburg	Simon Lindley
1985	Eastern Cape	Harry Bramma
1986	Cape Town	Donald Hunt
1987	Pietermaritzburg	Alan Thurston
1988	Johannesburg	Jim Litton
1989	Eastern Cape	Martin Neary
1990	Cape Town	Christopher Robinson
1991	Kwa-Zulu Natal	not available
1992	Johannesburg	not available
1993	Eastern Cape	not available
1994	Cape Town	David Hill
1995	Kwa-Zulu Natal	not available
1996	Johannesburg	not available
1997	Eastern Cape	not available
1998	Cape Town	not available
1999	Kwa-Zulu Natal	Andrew Nethsingha
2000	NONE due to the millennium	N/A
2001	Johannesburg	Barry Rose
2002	NONE	N/A
2003	Eastern Cape	Barry Smith
2004	NONE	N/A
2005	Cape Town	John Harper
2006	Pietermaritzburg	Gordon Stewart
2007	Johannesburg	Geoff Weaver
2008	Port Elizabeth	Gordon Appleton
2009	Cape Town	Simon Lindley
2010	Drakensburg	Katherine Deines-Williams



## Appendix L

### New Hymnal for the Anglican Church in Southern Africa (Resolution 8 from Provincial Synod 2005)

This Synod:

#### **1. Recognising that**

##### 1.1

Musical resources are an extremely important factor in congregational life, and help to shape the spiritual life of the community of faith in Christ.

##### 1.2

The APB 1989 represents a distinctive theological emphasis that is not satisfactorily reflected in our normal musical resources, which include The English Hymnal, The Ancient and Modern Hymnal, 100 Hymns for Today, or our several vernacular hymnals.

##### 1.3

The wording or theology of some (though not all) of the above normal musical resources is no longer appropriate in the congregations whose membership contains or bridges varieties of the following factors: theological emphasis, genders, age groupings, cultural and intercultural groupings.

##### 1.4

Several of our bishops have called for transformation in the individuals and assemblies of the Anglican Church.

##### 1.5

Some congregations have felt constrained to adopt makeshift, unorthodox or even illegal measures to produce useful musical resources.

##### 1.6

The musical measures adopted by individual local congregations sometimes erode the theological soundness or aesthetic quality of the music that is sung in our congregations.

##### 1.7

The Diocesan Council of the Diocese of Grahamstown requests that consideration be given to the production of a new hymnal.

**2. Resolves** that the Metropolitan be respectfully requested to establish a Commission to begin the process of producing such a hymnal which reflects both the diversity of our Province and its rich musical traditions.



## Appendix M

### Canon 33<sup>1</sup>

Hymns      **4** No Hymn or Collection of Hymns shall be hereafter introduced into the Public Services of any congregation of this Province without the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese.

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<sup>1</sup> Note: In the most recent revision of the Canons, a number of directives were moved to different categories. Canon 33, no. 4 was originally Canon 32, no. 4.



## Appendix N

### Survey for Liturgy and Music in the Parish Churches

#### SECTION ONE: PARISH PROFILE

##### 1.1. Congregation membership

1.1.1. Tick the box which closest represents the average overall attendance at your church on a Sunday:

> 50	50	100	150	200	250
300	350	400	450	500	500 +

1.1.2. Tick the box which best describes the ethnic composition of your congregation:

Black	
Coloured	
White	
Indian	
Asian	
Evenly mixed	

1.1.3. Tick the box which closest represents the average age of the parish:

15 – 35	
36 – 55	
56 – 75	

1.1.4. Tick the box which best describes the economic situation of your parish:

Wealthy	
Middle Class	
Low Income	
Mostly Unemployed	
Evenly Mixed	

1.1.5. Tick the box which best describes the parish's current form of worship:

Evangelical	
Moderate Evangelical	
Central	
Liberal Catholic	
Anglo-Catholic	

1.1.6. Has the worship of your church been affected by the Renewal/Charismatic Movement?

Greatly	
Somewhat	
Not at all	



## 1.2. Sunday services

1.2.1. Tick the box which represents the number of services which are held at your parish on a Sunday:

1	2	3	4	5
More than 5				

1.2.2. Indicate which prayer books are in regular use on Sundays at your parish by ticking the appropriate box/es:

Book of Common Prayer 1662	
South African Prayer Book 1954	
An Anglican Prayer Book 1989	
Other	

1.2.3. Indicate which type of service is celebrated most often on a Sunday at your parish (if both Morning Prayer and the Eucharist are celebrated as a combined service, tick both boxes):

Eucharist/Communion	
Morning Prayer	
Evening Prayer	

## 1.3. Weekday services

1.3.1. Does the parish hold regular weekday services?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

If your answer is no, continue to 1.4., if your answer is yes, please continue.

1.3.2. Which prayer book is used most frequently at the weekday services:

Book of Common Prayer 1662	
South African Prayer Book 1954	
An Anglican Prayer Book 1989	
Other	

1.3.3. Does the parish ever hold weekday services for special feasts and festivals of the church year?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

1.3.4. Has your church used any of the following liturgical resources?

Worship Resource Manual (2009)	
Seasons of Creation (2008)	
HIV/AIDS in worship	
Unity in Worship (1996)	
Services for Parish Use (1993)	

1.3.5. Has the liturgical use at your church been influenced by any of these local books?

The Light of Christ (E J Rowland)	
Celebration of Faith (J Suggit)	
A Manual for Worship Leaders (G Quinlan)	
Anglican Liturgical Notes for Today (J Suggit)	

1.4. Ecumenical services

1.4.1. Is your parish ever involved in ecumenical services within your community?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

1.4.2. If yes, how often?

Weekly		Monthly		Quarterly		Annually	
--------	--	---------	--	-----------	--	----------	--

## SECTION TWO: THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN WORSHIP

2.1. Below is a list of seven possible roles/purposes for church music to fulfil. Please rate them in order of priority (1 being most important, 7 the least) by placing the appropriate figure opposite each statement.

To provide a medium for evangelism	
To provide contrast or establish mood	
To uplift the soul	
To worship and praise God	
To help people pray	
To promote corporate awareness and fellowship in Worship	
To illuminate and intensify the words of the service	

2.2. Do you feel that, in your church, this order of priority is being achieved?

Yes	
Partially	
No	

2.3. Do you consider music an integral part of worship?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

2.4. If you use more than one prayer book/rite per Sunday, do you choose different types of music to suit the ethos of the particular prayer book? For example, would you choose hymns for an SAPB service and praise songs for an APB service?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

2.5. Have you used locally composed music in your services to promote local identity? For example, have you chosen songs like “Siyahamba” (“We are marching in the light of God”) to encourage South African unity?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

2.6. The music chosen for worship is selected:

To reflect the readings/liturgical seasons	
Spontaneously by lead singers/laity/clergy	

### SECTION THREE: LITURGICAL AND MUSICAL PERSONNEL

3.1. Who, in practice, takes responsibility for your Church’s policy in worship?

The minister/priest alone	
The minister/priest and director of music together	
The director of music alone	
A worship committee (comprised of clergy and laity, musician and non-musicians)	
The church council	

3.2. Does your church have an active worship committee?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

3.3. How often does it meet?

Weekly		Monthly		Quarterly		Annually	
--------	--	---------	--	-----------	--	----------	--

3.4. Please answer the following questions:

	Yes	No
3.4.1. Do you have a choir?		
3.4.2. Do you have a separate singing group?		
3.4.3. If the answer to 3.4.1. or 3.4.2. is ‘yes’, does either wear robes?		

3.5. Indicate the numbers of people actively engaged in leading the music of your church:

	Male	Female	Total
The director of music			
The assistant director of music			
The organist/s (if other than the two mentioned above)			
A reluctant organist/s (i.e. a pianist who is willing to play the organ)			
Lead singer or cantor			
Singers/choristers under the age of 13			
Singers/chorister aged between 14 and 18			
Singers/choristers aged 19 and above			
Members of music/instrumental groups			
Total			

## SECTION FOUR: PARISH MUSIC

4.1. In the course of an average 4-week month, how many times will the following Sunday services (in which music is a constituent part) take place in your church?

	With Choir	Without Choir	With Music Group	Without Music Group
Eucharist				
Family service (non-Eucharist)				
Morning Prayer				
Evening Prayer				
Other				

4.2. Place a tick next to any of the hymnbooks which are currently in use in your parish.

Ancient and Modern (New Standard)	
Ancient and Modern (Revised)	
Iculo Lase-Tshetshi Ne-Ngoma	
New English Hymnal	
English Hymnal	
Common Praise	
Hymns for Today's Church	
With One Voice	
Mission Praise	
Sounds of Living Water/Fresh Sounds	
Celebration Hymnal	
Songs of Fellowship	
Hymns of Faith	
Other (but do not specify)	

4.3. Does your church's musical repertoire include:

	Yes	No
Congregational setting/s of the Eucharist		
Choir settings of the Eucharist		
Choir/singing group anthems		
Scriptural songs and choruses		
Ethnic African songs/canticles		
Psalms and/or canticles to Anglican chant		
Responsorial psalms		
Plainsong		
Taizé music		
Organ music		
Instrumental music		
Recorded music		

4.4. Does your congregation use any of the following instruments in worship?

	Yes	No
Beat cushions		
Djembe drums		
Drum kit		
Organ		
Percussion (other than drums)		
Piano/keyboard		
Orchestral instruments		
Acoustic/electric guitar		
Bass guitar		

4.5. Does your congregation ever sing without accompaniment?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4.6. Does the APB give your parish more freedom to incorporate newer styles of music? For example, does your parish substitute a series of scriptural songs/choruses for the "Glory to God"?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4.7. The APB has included several locally composed liturgies and prayers. Has this encouraged the use of locally composed music in your congregation?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4.8. Does your congregation ever sing music in languages other than the local prayer book? For example, if you lead an English congregation, do you ever sing songs in Xhosa, Afrikaans, French, etc.?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4.9. Does your church ever sing South African worship songs such as "Bayeti Nkosi" or "Jabulani"?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4.10. Does your church sing worship songs from worship movements around the world? For example, Hillsongs or Vineyard.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

## SECTION FIVE: TRAINING AND BUDGET

5.1. Please answer the following questions:

	Yes	No
Do you currently have a director of music/music leader?		
Is he/she appropriately trained?		
Does he/she have a musical qualification?		
Does he/she earn his/her living as a musician?		
Is your congregation supportive of innovations in the music of your church?		
Do you consider that your knowledge of church music is adequate to provide the necessary support for your Church musicians?		
Is your working relationship with your director of music a comfortable one?		
Is the music of your church one of the things that attracts people to it?		
If the answer to the above question was YES, is it partly because they wish to participate in the choir/music group?		
Has the music of your church ever been given as a reason for individuals leaving your congregation?		

5.2. Does the church offer payment to any of its musicians?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

5.3. Does your parish have a budget for music?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

## SECTION SIX: ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

If you wish to add any further comments, please do so below.



## Appendix O

### Letter accompanying survey

18 Hawthorne Crescent  
Thornton  
7460  
[ajbethke@gmail.com](mailto:ajbethke@gmail.com)  
021 534 6933  
23 December 2009

Dear Reverend Father/Mother

My name is Andrew-John Bethke, I am the musical director at Christ Church in Constantia. You may have seen an article about my PhD studies in the *Good Hope* newsletter (September 2009), or bishop Garth may have informed you of my work. Part of my thesis investigates the current trends in Christian music in parishes of the Diocese of Cape Town.

The bulk of my thesis explores the link between liturgy and music. I would like to include a chapter about the current liturgical and musical trends in the Diocese of Cape Town. This will serve as a historical resource for future generations, but most importantly it will give an indication what is actually happening in congregations right now. With this information I hope to be able to train church musicians adequately in order to meet the specific needs of the Diocese. It is my dream to establish a training school for church musicians, young and old, which will include some theological/liturgical training as well as musical.

I have included a survey with this letter. Please take some time to fill it in and send it back to me in the self addressed envelope. I am well aware that clergy are extremely busy, so the survey is designed to take about 15 or 20 minutes to complete. You might like to ask your musical director to fill it in for you, but I recommend you attend to the liturgical and theological sections. I ask that you return the completed survey to me by 31 January 2010. In return for your kind assistance in this study, I have offered my assistance to the Diocese in a musical capacity. In this regard, I am a co-presenter in the Ashes to Fire Conference in January/February 2010. You have probably already been invited to this exciting event, and I encourage you to attend. There will be other courses to follow in the future.

Please feel free to include any comments with the survey form. You may also contact me directly if you wish to ask any questions about the study.

Thank you for your kind assistance.

Kind regards

Andrew-John Bethke





## Appendix P

### Survey results

Total number of surveys sent = 49

Total number of surveys returned = 20 (41%)

#### SECTION ONE: CONGREGATION PROFILE

##### 1.1.1. Average Sunday attendance

< 50	3
50	1
100	3
150	2
200	3
250	1
300	1
350	2
400	1
500 +	3

**Average Sunday attendance = 228**

**Average Sunday attendance in:**

Catholic oriented congregations = 200

Central oriented parishes = 250

Evangelical oriented parishes = 267

**Average Sunday attendance in:**

Coloured congregations = 300

White congregations = 367

Evenly mixed congregations = 165

##### 1.1.2. Ethnic composition

Black	0
Coloured	6 (30%)
White	3 (15%)
Indian	0
Asian	0
Evenly mixed	10 (50%)

Note 1: 1 parish refused to answer this question, saying "We are in a democracy that does not recognise race! I cannot respond to this one."

Note 2: No surveys were received from black parishes. Thus the sample is not fully reflective of trends across the diocese.

### 1.1.3. Average age of congregation:

15 - 35	0
36 - 55	11
56 - 75	6

**0%** of congregations class themselves as young.

**55%** of congregations in the diocese appear to attract middle aged adults.

**30%** of congregations in the diocese are aging.

Note 1: 1 parish did not answer this question, saying "Very difficult [to say] - we have ±4000 parishioners - babies to over 80's."

Note 2: Two parishes ticked two boxes.

### 1.1.5. Average economic situation:

Wealthy	2 (10%)
Middle class	8 (40%)
Low income	4 (20%)
Mostly unemployed	0
Evenly mixed	6 (30%)

Majority of...

Catholic oriented parishes are evenly mixed.

Central oriented parishes are middle class.

Evangelical parishes are middle class.

### 1.1.6. Theological stance:

Evangelical	2 (10%)
Moderate Evangelical	1 (5%)
Central	7 (35%)
Liberal Catholic	3 (15%)
Anglo-Catholic	7 (35%)

Number of parishes which identify themselves are mainly Evangelical = 3 (15%).

Number of parishes which identify with the Central Anglican tradition = 7 (35%).

Number of parishes which identify themselves as mainly Catholic = 10 (50%).

The majority of Evangelical parishes are largely white and coloured (67%).

Central parishes tend to be coloured (43%).

Catholic parishes are generally evenly mixed (60%).

#### 1.1.7. The influence of the Charismatic Movement:

Greatly	4 (20%)
Somewhat	10 (50%)
Not at all	6 (30%)

Many Catholic oriented parishes have not been affected by the Charismatic Movement (60%).

Majority of Central parishes have been somewhat affected by the Charismatic Movement (100%).

Majority of Evangelical parishes have been greatly influenced by the Charismatic Movement (100%).

#### 1.2.1. Average number of services per Sunday:

1	6 (30 %)
2	7 (35%)
3	4 (20%)
4	2 (10%)
5	0

Most parishes have either one (30%) or two (35%) services per Sunday.

Note: one parish has two OR three services a Sunday.

#### 1.2.2. Prayer Book used

BCP	0
SAPB	1 (5%)
APB	16 (80%)
Other	0
APB & SAPB	1 (5%)
APB & BCP	1 (5%)
APB & other	1 (5%)

The overwhelming majority of parishes prefer APB (80%), but other authorised prayer books are also used in conjunction with the APB. Only one parish still uses SAPB exclusively.

The parish which uses SAPB is Anglo-Catholic.

Central parishes are more likely to use APB and another prayer book (29%), and parishes which tend more towards Anglo-Catholicism are least likely to use APB in conjunction with another book (10%).

## 1.2.3. Which type of service is celebrated most often on a Sunday;

Communion	16 (80%)
Morning Prayer	0
Evening Prayer	0
Com and MP	2 (10%)
Com and EP	1 (5%)
Com, MP & EP	1 (5%)

Communion/Eucharist is the most common Sunday service in parishes (80%). Evangelical parishes are more likely to have bimonthly celebrations of Communion rather than weekly celebrations (67%). One parish has two Eucharists in the morning and Evening Prayer every Sunday evening. This, however, is not a common trend.

Therefore, for most parishes the main service of the day is the Communion/Eucharist.

## 1.3.1. Regular weekday services

Yes	15 (75%)
No	5 (25%)

Central parishes are most likely to have regular weekday services (100%), followed by catholic oriented churches (70%) and then the Evangelicals (33%).

## 1.3.2. Prayer book for weekday services

BCP	0
SAPB	1 (7%)
APB	14 (93%)
Other	0

Not surprisingly, APB is preferred for weekday services too.

## 1.3.3. Special services for feasts and festivals in the church year

Yes	7 (47%)
No	8 (53%)

More Catholic oriented parishes are most likely to celebrate special feasts and festivals during the week (86%), while Central (14%) and Evangelical (0%) parishes are least likely to organise these during the week.

## 1.3.4. Local liturgies and their use in parishes

Worship Resource Manual	11 (55%)
Seasons of Creation	14 (70%)
HIV/AIDS in Worship	11 (55%)
Unity in Worship	3 (15%)
Services for Parish Use	11 (55%)

From this data, it is clear that *Seasons of Creation* is the most popular provincial liturgical publication, followed closely by the new *Worship Resource Manual*, *HIV/AIDS in Worship* and *Services for Parish Use*. *Unity in Worship* (an ecumenical resource) has not been as successful.

## 1.3.5. Local authors and their influence on liturgical Use

The Light of Christ (Rowland)	8 (40%)
Celebration of Faith (Suggit)	10 (50%)
Manual for Worship Leaders (Quinlan)	9 (45%)
Anglican Liturgical Notes for Today (Suggit)	7 (35%)

It is clear that local authors do exercise a substantial influence on liturgy in the diocese. John Suggit's *Celebration of Faith* (50%) and Bishop Quinlan's *Manual for Worship Leaders* (45%) are the most popular resources.

## 1.4.1. Ecumenical involvement

Yes	11 (55%)
No	9 (45%)

The results show that Catholic oriented parishes are least likely to engage in ecumenical activity (50%). Central congregations are not far behind (43% do not have ecumenical services). 67% of Evangelical parishes have ecumenical services.

## 1.4.2. Frequency of ecumenical involvement

Weekly	0
Monthly	2 (18%)
Quarterly	0
Annually	8 (73%)
Other	1 (9%)

Those parishes which do participate in ecumenical services are most likely to do so once a year (73%).

The two parishes which are involved monthly are Anglo-Catholic and Central respectively.

## SECTION TWO: THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN WORSHIP

## 2.1. Roles and purposes of church music

	Overall	Catholic	Evangelical	Central
To provide a medium for evangelism	6	6	5	6
To provide contrast or establish mood	7	7	5	7
To uplift the soul	5	3	2	5
To worship and praise God	1	1	1	1
To help people pray	3	4	3	4
To promote corporate awareness and fellowship in worship	4	5	4	3
To illuminate and intensify the words of the service	2	2	7	2

The overwhelming majority of parishes consider believe that the purpose of music is to worship and praise God. The illumination of the texts is the second most important purpose of music. Note how different the Evangelical scoring is in contrast to both Catholic and Central parishes. Also note how closely the Central tradition follows the overall average.

## 2.2. Is this level of priority being achieved?

Yes	9 (45%)
Partially	11 (55%)
No	0

## 2.3. Is music an integral component of worship?

Yes	18 (90%)
No	2 (10%)

The two parishes which did not consider music as integral to worship were on either extreme of the theological spectrum, viz. Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical.

## 2.4. If the parish uses more than one prayer book/rite per Sunday, is different music used to suit the ethos of the particular prayer book?

Yes	7 (35%)
No	7 (35%)
N/A	6 (30%)

The majority of Evangelical parishes chooses music to suit the ethos of different services (67%). This is not unusual, since these parishes often have a 'traditional' early service with hymns and a more 'contemporary' service later in the morning with worship songs. A high number of Central parishes (57%) also choose music to suite the ethos of a particular service.

## 2.5. Does the congregation use locally composed music to promote local identity?

Yes	14 (70%)
No	6 (30%)

This question is an extension of one of the 'roles' of music listed in 2.1., i.e. to promote corporate awareness and fellowship in worship. It received quite a low score overall (4), although the Central parishes rated it slightly more highly (3). Here we see that the clear majority (70%) of parishes do include local music to promote local identity and culture.

## 2.6. The music is chosen for worship is selected:

to reflect the readings/liturgical seasons	15 (75%)
spontaneously by lead singers/laity/clergy	2 (10%)
both of the above	3 (15%)

Both parishes who choose music spontaneously are Evangelical theologically and have both been greatly influenced by the Charismatic Movement. Spontaneity is one of the hallmarks of this Movement. Two Catholic orientated and parishes allow spontaneous musical choices alongside the planned music for the day.



## SECTION THREE: LITURGICAL AND MUSICAL PERSONNEL

## 3.1. Who chooses the music?

The minister/priest alone	5 (25%)
The minister/priest and director of music together	9 (45%)
The director of music alone	0
A worship committee (comprised of clergy and laity, musician and non-musicians)	1 (5%)
The church council	1 (5%)
Minister/musician/worship committee	2 (10%)
Minister/musician/worship committee/church council	1 (5%)
Either minister and musician together or only the musician	1 (5%)

Many clergy appear to collaborate with their music directors when choosing music for worship (45%). Occasionally the minister chooses music alone (25%). In one congregation the music director and priest usually choose music together, but the worship committee selects music for special services.

## 3.2. How many parishes have an active worship committee?

Yes	10 (50%)
No	10 (50%)

Statistically Central parishes are least likely to have a worship committee (57% say they do not have one). The majority of Evangelical parishes (67%) have a worship committee.

## 3.3. How often does the worship committee meet?

Weekly	5 (50%)
Monthly	1 (10%)
Quarterly	3 (30%)
Annually	0
Other	1 (10%)

In parishes where there is a worship committee, 50% meet weekly.

## 3.4. Choirs and singing groups

	Yes	No
Do you have a choir?	12 (60%)	8 (40%)
Do you have a separate singing group?	9 (45%)	11 (55%)
Does either wear robes?	9 (45%)	11 (55%)

Catholic orientated parishes are more likely to have a choir (70%), while Evangelical parishes are more likely to have a singing group (67%). In Central parishes choirs are most likely not to be robed

(71%). White parishes with choirs do not use robes (100%). Only 40% of mixed parishes use them, whereas 67% of coloured parishes have robed choirs.

3.5.

	Male	Female	Total
The director of music	11	6	17
The assistant director of music	3	2	5
The organist/s (if other than the two mentioned above)	9	3	12
A reluctant organist/s (i.e. a pianist who is willing to play the organ)	1	2	3
Lead singer or cantor	10	14	24
Singers/choristers under the age of 13	10	4	14
Singers/chorister aged between 14 and 18	5	5	10
Singers/choristers aged 19 and above	64	102	166
Members of music/instrumental groups	40	35	75
Total	153	173	326

Average size of parish choir/singing group: 11 (10.6) members

Average number of men in choir/singing group: 4 (4.4)

Average number of women in choir/singing group: 6 (6.2)

Average number of children under the age of 18 per parish choir/singing group: 1

Percentage of parishes which have a director of music: 76% (one parish had more than one director of music)

100% of Evangelical parishes have a director of music

77% of Catholic oriented parishes have a director of music

50% of Central parishes have a director of music

Directors of music are more likely to be male (65%)

Percentage of parishes which have an ADDITIONAL organist: 67%

Average number of people involved in church music per parish: 18 (18.1)

Average number of males involved in church music per parish: 9 (8.5)

Average number of females involved in church music per parish: 10 (9.6)

Catholic and Evangelical oriented parishes tend to have roughly equal numbers of female and male musicians, while in Central parishes musicians are more likely to be female (66%)

Average number of musicians per Evangelical parish: 44 (43.1)

Average number of musicians per Catholic oriented parish: 15 (15.1)

Average number of musicians per Central parish: 10 (9.8)

## SECTION FOUR: PARISH MUSIC

## 4.1. Musical Sunday services

	With Choir	Without Choir	With Music Group	Without Music Group
Eucharist	39	29	22	1
Family service (non-Eucharist)	1	0	10	1
Morning Prayer	0	0	3	0
Evening Prayer	2	0	2	2
Other	1	0	5	0

## 4.2. Hymn books

Ancient and Modern (New Standard)	12
Ancient and Modern (Revised)	6
Hymns for Today's Church	1
Mission Praise	2
Songs of Fellowship	13
Other (but do not specify)	2

Number of parishes which use Ancient and Modern (New Standard) exclusively: 3

Number of parishes which use Ancient and Modern (Revised) exclusively: 3

Number of parishes which use combination of hymn books: 14 (73%)

Number of parishes using AM (NS) and Songs of Fellowship: 10 (53%)

Most popular hymn book for Catholic oriented parishes: Ancient and Modern (New Standard) and Songs of Fellowship

Most popular hymn book for Central oriented parishes: Songs of Fellowship

Most popular hymn book for Evangelical parishes: no clear winner (all equal)

## 4.3. Repertoire

	Cath	Cent	Evan	Total
Congregational setting/s of the Eucharist	10	5	1	16 (80%)
Choir settings of the Eucharist	6	1	0	7 (35%)
Choir/singing group anthems	7	4	1	12 (60%)
Scriptural songs and choruses	6	4	3	13 (65%)
Ethnic African songs/canticles	5	2	2	9 (45%)
Psalms and/or canticles to Anglican chant	8	2	1	11 (55%)
Responsorial psalms	4	1	0	5 (25%)
Plainsong	5	1	0	6 (30%)
Taizé music	5	3	0	8 (40%)
Organ music	9	5	2	16 (80%)
Instrumental music	4	5	2	11 (55%)
Recorded music	5	3	1	9 (45%)

## 4.4. Instruments in worship

	Cath	Cent	Evan	Total
Beat cushions	1	0	0	1 (5%)
Djembe drums	1	1	1	3 (15%)
Drum kit	3	1	2	6 (30%)
Organ	10	7	1	18 (90%)
Percussion (other than drums)	2	2	2	6 (30%)
Piano/keyboard	6	7	3	16 (80%)
Orchestral instruments	5	3	2	10 (50%)
Acoustic/electric guitar	2	2	2	6 (30%)
Bass guitar	2	1	2	5 (25%)

## 4.5. Congregational singing without accompaniment

Yes	14 (70%)
No	6 (30%)

## 4.6. APB and freedom of music choice

Yes	15 (75%)
No	2 (10%)
N/A	3 (15%)

## 4.7. APB and local musical content

Yes	6 (30%)
No	10 (50%)
N/A	4 (20%)

## 4.8. Use of other languages in worship

Yes	9 (45%)
No	9 (45%)
N/A	2 (10%)

Central parishes are more likely not to use other languages in their worship (33%) whereas both Evangelical (67%) and Catholic (56%) oriented parishes are more likely to experiment with them.

## 4.9. South African worship songs in Sunday services

Yes	10 (50%)
No	7 (35%)
N/A	3 (15%)

Catholic oriented parishes are more likely not to use South African songs in worship (44%), while Evangelical parishes all use South African worship songs.

## 4.10. Worship songs from international worship movements (e.g. Hillsong and Vineyard):

Yes	12 (60%)
No	6 (30%)
N/A	2 (10%)

## SECTION FIVE: TRAINING AND BUDGET

## 5.1. Musicians: their training and interaction with clergy

	Yes	No
Do you currently have a director of music/music leader?	13	6
Is he/she appropriately trained?*	12	1
Does he/she have a musical qualification?*	11	2
Does he/she earn his/her living as a musician?*	5	8
Is your congregation supportive of innovations in the music of your church?	19	0
Do you consider that your knowledge of church music is adequate to provide the necessary support for your Church musicians?	12	7
Is your working relationship with your director of music a comfortable one?	18	0
Is the music of your church one of the things that attracts people to it?	16	2
If the answer to the above question was YES, is it partly because they wish to participate in the choir/music group?	2	12
Has the music of your church ever been given as a reason for individuals leaving your congregation?	2	17

NOTE: All \* questions (2 - 4) are related to the first question.

## 5.2. Offering payment for musicians

Yes	18 (90%)
No	2 (10%)
N/A	0

## 5.3. Budget for music

Yes	13 (65%)
No	5 (25%)
N/A	2 (10%)

## Appendix Q

### Contemporary music list for St George's Cathedral

#### Music Selections June – July 2010

#### Cathedral Eucharist at 10h00

#### Evensong at 19h00

Cathedral Eucharist	2 after Pent 6 June 2010	3 after Pent 13 June 2010	4 after Pent 20 June 2010	5 after Pent 27 June 2010	6 after Pent 4 July 2010
<b>Service Music</b>	<b>Mass of St George:</b> <b>Psalm Chants in rotation: Walmisley; Wesley; Turle</b>				
<b>Entrance</b>	AMNS 114	AMNS 101	AMNS 361	AMNS 146	AMNS 203
	Come let us join	O worship the King	For the healing	When morning gilds	O praise ye the Lord
	<i>Nativity</i>	<i>Hanover</i>	<i>Alleluia dulce carmen</i>	<i>Laudes Domini</i>	<i>Laudate Doiminum</i>
<b>Psalm</b>	113	42: 1-4, 6-7	43 [all 6 verses]	44: 1-3, 5-9	51:1-8
	Walmisley	Wesley	Turle	Walmisley	Wesley
<b>Gradual</b>	AMNS 125	AMNS 131	AMNS 115	HON 218	199
	O for a thousand	Love divine all loves	Dear Lord and Father	God's spirit is in my heart	Immortal, invisible
	Richmond	Love Divine	Repton	Go tell everyone	<i>St Denio</i>
<b>Offertory</b>	AMNS 285	LAMBETH 170	AHON 556	WLP 812	WLP 780
	Thine arm, O God	Love is his Word	O Jesus I have promised	I, the Lord of sea and sky	Lord you give the great
	<i>St Matthew</i>	<i>Cresswell</i>	<i>Day of Rest</i>	<i>Here I am</i>	Abbot's Leigh
<b>Communion</b>	AMNS 391	1982 455	AMNS 122	AMNS 473	AMNS 246
	Lord Jesus Christ	O love of God	How sweet the name	I come with joy	Just as I am
	<i>Living Lord</i>	<i>Dunedin</i>	<i>St Peter</i>	<i>St Botolph</i>	<i>Saffron Walden</i>
<b>Dismissal</b>	WOV 771	AMNS 143	CP 609	AMNS 198	1982 541
	Great is thy faithfulness	Jesus shall reign	To God be the glory	Ye holy angels bright	Come labour on
	<i>Faithfulness</i>	<i>Truro</i>	<i>To God be the glory</i>	<i>Darwall's 148th</i>	<i>Or et labora</i>

Evensong	2 after Pent 6 June 2010	3 after Pent 13 June 2010	4 after Pent 20 June 2010	5 after Pent 27 June 2010	6 after Pent 4 July 2010
		Choir of Christ Church Constantia	Choir of St Nicholas Matroosfontein	Sarita Stern Simone Kirsch	Choirs of St Paul's Rondebosch St Francis Simonstown
			Introit Create in me your vision - Barry Smith		
<b>214</b>	<b>Hymn Festival with Induction of Choristers</b>	241	163	<b>Songs of Holy Love</b>  <b>Sarita Stern Simone Kirsch</b>	
		Lift up your hearts	Angel voices ever singing		
		<i>Woodlands</i>	<i>Angel Voices</i>		
<b>Preces and Responses</b>		Plainchant on Sarum	William Smith of Durham		Tallis Ferial
<b>Psalm</b>		37:1-10	44:1-10 Brewer		57
<b>Office Hymn</b>		8	7		
		Hail gladdening Light <i>Sebaste</i>	O strength and stay <i>Strength and stay</i>		
<b>Canticles</b>		Hylton Steward in C	Samuel Sebastian Wesley in F		Wood in D
<b>Anthem</b>		Bring to the Lord C. H. H. Parry	Let us with a gladsome mind Sidney H. Nicholason		Rejoice the Lord is King Malcolm Archer
<b>Before Sermon</b>		108	109		
		Sometimes a light <i>Offertorium</i>	When all thy mercies <i>Contemplation</i>		
<b>For Offering</b>		235	211		
		O Jesus I have promised <i>Wolvercote</i>	Through the night <i>Rustington</i>		
<b>Procession</b>					





## Appendix R

### Archbishop's letter to the congregation of St Michael and All Angels, Observatory



FROM THE ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOP OF CAPE TOWN  
The Most Reverend Dr Thabo Cecil Makgoba DD(hc) PhD(UCT)

BISHOPSCOURT CLAREMONT CAPE 7708  
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4 June 2010

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Christ

I greet you in the precious name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Saviour and Redeemer, as you mark the centenary of Union of South Africa.

Speaking of this anniversary earlier this week, the Deputy President, Kgalema Motlanthe, said that South Africans must deal with our history in its entirety, and embrace it for what it is. He warned against merely focussing on feel-good moments, while avoiding those parts that make us feel uncomfortable.

He is of course right. Your marking of this anniversary at St Michael and All Angels helps show to the world the 'holy remembering' which Christians are uniquely placed to engage in, as we look back on the chequered past of our country, and find in it the seeds of hope.

Our faith enables us to dare to be honest about ambiguous events such as the Union of South Africa. It was in many respects an unsatisfactory compromise at best, even though it brought solutions to other painful issues of that era. Many who supported it recognised its limitations at the time, but nonetheless hoped it might be a potential stepping stone to a better future. Yet as we know, these hopes were not realised and its provisions were twisted to far worse ends.

But we dare to engage in holy remembering, because we remember as those who belong to Jesus Christ, Saviour and Lord, who suffered for our redemption.

In Him we can give thanks for what was good, while at the same time finding freedom to acknowledge what was not. We bring this into His presence with our prayers for His transfiguring touch. Where we have reason to repent, we can do so, knowing He does not leave us under condemnation, but rather delights to forgive, transform and redeem.

Human history is little different from our present or future. The choices before us today are equally filled with ambiguity and unpredictability, and laden with both positive and negative consequences, seen and unforeseeable. Yet the redemptive promise of Jesus Christ is what enables us not to stand back from the challenges that face us, but rather to take the risks of 'getting our hands dirty' in the tasks of political and socio-economic nation-building.

So I pray that God will bless you today in your remembering of the past, and that through this he will encourage you to play your part in his redemptive mission to his world, in our nation today.

Yours in the service of Christ

*+Thabo Cape Town*

ANGLICAN CHURCH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA



## Appendix S

### Music lists for St Michael and All Angels Observatory, Christmas 2008/9

Sunday, 30 November, 2008

ADVENT SUNDAY

9.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

J.S. Bach : **Chorale Prelude, *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (Fughetta) BWV 699**

Propers: ***Ad te levavi***

Service: ***Missa Rorate coeli desuper*** - Haydn

Motet: **Remember, O Thou Man** - trad.

Int: The Advent of our King - St Thomas

Grad: Hark the glad sound! - Bristol

Off: Lo, he comes with clouds descending - Helmsley

Com: Creator of the starry height - Conditor alme

Rec: The Lord will come and not be slow - St Stephen

J.S. Bach : **Chorale Prelude, *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* BWV 645**

Sunday 7 December, 2008

Advent II

10.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

Setting : **Wilson in D**

Int : The Lord will come and not be slow - St Stephen

Grad : Thou, whose almighty word - Moscow

Off : Lo, he comes with clouds descending - Helmsley

Com : Lord, thy word abideth - Ravenshaw

Rec : Come, thou long-expected Jesus

Pachelbel : **Chaconne in F minor**

7.00pm Evensong and Benediction :

Introit : Matin Responsory - G.P. da Palestrina

Procession : Come, thou Redeemer of the earth - Veni Redemptor gentium

Preces : **Ayleward**  
 Service : **Carolus Andreas Fauxbourdons**  
 Anthem : **'Twas in the year the King Uzziah died** - Metrical Sanctus Tune, V Mode X Century

Psalm : 67 (Chant : Nares)  
 Office Hymn : Creator of the starry height - Conditor alme  
 Hymn : O come, O come, Emmanuel - Veni Emmanuel

O Salutaris : Hereford  
 Tantum ergo : Pange lingua

Alec Rowley : **Fantasia on *Veni Emmanuel***

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Sunday, 14 December, 2008  
 Advent III  
 9.30am High Mass:  
 Corporate Mass of the Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem  
 (The Rector)

J.S. Bach : **Chorale Prelude, *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* BWV 599**

Proper : ***Gaudete***  
 Service: **Mass for four voices** - Byrd  
 Anthem : **This is the record of John** - Gibbons

Int : Hark! a thrilling voice is sounding - Merton  
 Grad : On Jordan's bank the Baptist's cry - Winchester New  
 Off : O come, O come, Emmanuel - Veni Emmanuel  
 Com : Come, thou long-expected Jesus - Cross of Jesus  
 Rec : Thy kingdom come! on bended knee - Irish

Brahms : **Chorale Prelude, *O Gott, du frommer Gott***

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Sunday, 21 December, 2008  
 Advent IV  
 10.30am High Mass:  
 (Celebrant and preacher : The Rector)  
 (Deacon : Fr Clive McBride, on the 50th anniversary of his being made deacon by +Joost Cape Town)

Setting : **Wilson in D**

Int : The Lord will come and not be slow - St Stephen  
 Grad : On Jordan's bank the Baptist's cry - Winchester New  
 Off : Hail to the Lord's Anointed - Crüger  
 Com : Come, thou long-expected Jesus - Cross of Jesus  
 Rec : O come, O come, Emmanuel - Veni Emmanuel

Lidon : ***Sonata de Primo Tono***

### THE FEAST OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD

Wednesday 24 December, 2008

11.30pm Solemn Mass of Midnight:

(The Rector)

Daquin : **Noël in G**

Proper :

Service : ***Dominus dixit***

Carols : **Ireland in C**

**Il est né, le divin enfant; The infant King**

Proc :

Int : Once in royal David's city - Irby

Grad : Hark! the herald-angels sing - Mendelssohn

Off : While shepherds watched their flocks by night - Winchester Old

Com : It came upon the midnight clear - Noel

Carol at O little town of Bethlehem - Forest Green

the Crib

**Silent Night**

Rec :

O come, all ye faithful - Adeste fideles

Widor : **Toccata, from 5th Organ Symphony**

Thursday, 25 December, 2008

10.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

Franck : ***Deux antienne Noël***

Proper :

Service : ***Puer natus est***

***Missa Sancti Nicolai*** - Haydn

Anthem : (Magdalene Minnaar, Violina Anguelov, Willem Bester, Paul de Thierry)

Carols : ***Pueri concinite*** - Johann Ritter von Herbeck (arr and orch Deon Irish)

**The Infant King; Away in a manger**

Int :

Grad : O come, all ye faithful - Adeste fideles

Off : Of the Father's love begotten - Divinum mysterium

Com : Christians awake! salute the happy morn - Yorkshire

Rec : O little town of Bethlehem - Forest Green

Hark! the herald-angels sing - Mendelssohn

**We wish you a merry Christmas!** - arr Warrell

Widor : **Toccata, from 5th Organ Symphony**

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**The Choir is on vacation. Choral services resume on 25 January, 2009**

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Sunday, 28 December, 2008

### **THE FEAST OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS**

10.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

Setting : **Wilson in D**

Int :

Grad : Of the Father's love begotten - Divinum mysterium

Off : O martyrs young and fresh as flowers - Puer nobis

Com : Shepherds in the field abiding - Shepherds in the field

Rec : In the bleak midwinter - Cranham

Behold, the great Creator makes - Kilmarnock

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Sunday, 4 January, 2009

Christmas II

10.30am High Mass:  
(The Rector)

Setting : **Wilson in D**

Int : Behold, the great Creator makes - Kilmarnock  
 Grad : Of the Father's love begotten - Divinum mysterium  
 Off : Once in royal David's city - Irby  
 Com : A great and mighty wonder - Es ist ein' Ros  
 Rec : Thou whom shepherds worshipped - Quem pastores

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Sunday, 11 January, 2009

Epiphany I

10.30am High Mass:

(Celebrant : The Rev Fr David Cherry)

(Preacher : Fr Peter Wilson)

Setting : **Wilson in D**

Int : O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness! - Was lebet  
 Grad : The heavenly Child in stature grows - Tallis  
 Off : Brightest and best of the sons of the morning - Epiphany  
 Com : Earth has many a noble city - Stuttgart  
 Rec : As with gladness men of old - Dix

---

Sunday, 18 January, 2009

Epiphany II

10.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

Setting : **Wilson in D**

Int : O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness - Was lebet  
 Grad : The people that in darkness sat - Dundee  
 Off : Songs of thankfulness and praise - St Edmund  
 Com : My God, and is thy table spread - Rockingham  
 Rec : Now thank we all our God - Nun danket

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Sunday, 25 January, 2009

**THE FEAST OF THE CONVERSION OF ST PAUL**

10.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

(Organ : John Birch)

Proprs : **Laetetur**

Service : **Darke in F**

Anthem : **Holy is the true light** - Harris

Int : Paul the preacher, Paul the poet - Stuttgart

Grad : From heaven's height Christ spake to call - Tallis' Canon

Off : We sing the glorious conquest - Ellacombe

Com : How bright these glorious spirits shine! - Beatitudo

Rec : Captains of the saintly band - University College

Sunday, 1 February, 2009

Epiphany IV

10.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

Setting : **Wilson in D**

Int : Stand up, and bless the Lord - Carlisle

Grad : Eternal Father, strong to save - Melita

Off : Come down, O love divine - Down Ampney

Com : Dear Lord and Father of mankind - Repton

Rec : O thou who camest from above - Hereford

**THE FEAST OF THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE**

**(THE FEAST OF THE PURIFICATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY)**

7.00pm Solemn First Evensong & Benediction:

Preces : **Ayleward**

Service : **Wood in D**

Anthem : **Ave Maria** - Arcadelt

Psalm : 63

Office hymn : O Sion, open wide thy gates - Bristol

Hymn : Hail to the Lord who comes - Old 120th

O salutaris : Hereford

Tantum ergo : Tantum ergo

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Sunday, 8 February, 2009

**THE FEAST OF THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE**  
**(THE FEAST OF THE PURIFICATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY)**

10.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

Hakim : **Danse**, from *Mariales pour Orgue*

Blessing : **Nunc dimittis**, from the Evening Service in D- Charles Wood

Propers : **Suscepimus**

Service : **Missa Brevis in F ("Jugendmesse")** - Haydn

(Magadalene Minnaar, Violina Anguelov)

Motet : **Ave Maria** - Rachmaninov

Grad : O Sion, open wide thy gates - Bristol

Off : Hail to the Lord who comes - Old 120th

Com : Virgin born, we bow before thee - Genevan Psalm lxxxvi

Rec : The God whom earth and sea and sky - St Ambrose

Samuel Wesley : **Allegro moderato**, from Voluntary I, Op 6

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Sunday, 15 February, 2009

Sexagesima

10.30am High Mass:

(The Rector)

Setting : **Wilson in D**

Int : Lead us, heavenly Father, lead us - Mannheim

Grad : Who would true valour see - Monk's Gate

Off : Praise to the Holiest in the height - Gerontius

Com : **Chorale Prelude, Schmücke dich** - Brahms

Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness - Schmücke dich

Rec : Oft in danger, oft in woe - University College

Vivaldi (arr) J.S. Bach : **Allegro, from Concerto in A minor, BWV 593**

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Sunday, 22 February, 2009

Quinquagesima

10.30am High Mass and Confirmation :

(The Rt Rev David Russell)

Proper : ***Esto mihi***

Service : **Ireland in C**

Anthem : **Greater Love** - John Ireland

Int : Come down, O love divine - Down Ampney

Grad : Gracious Spirit, Holy Ghost - Charity

Confirmation : Come Holy Ghost, our souls inspire - Veni, creator Spiritus

: Once pledged by the Cross - Paderborn

Off : We pray thee, heavenly father - Dies Dominica

Com : Father, hear the prayer we offer - Marching

Rec :

Murrill : **Carillon**

*Service Lists* [<http://www.stmichael.org.za/index.php/music/service-lists>] accessed 6 February 2011.

## Appendix T

### Haydn Project at St Michael and All Angels, Observatory

#### FRANZ JOSEPH HAYDN

(1732 - 1809)

The year 2009 marks the bicentenary of the death of Joseph Haydn on 31 May, 1809 at his home in the Viennese parish of Gumpendorf.

The composer of an incomparable body of 104 symphonies, he is almost as celebrated for the thirteen orchestral masses which have survived, many having been written for the name day celebrations of his patrons, Prince Nicolaus Esterhazy and - in the years following his return from his London sojourn - Princess Maria Hermenegild Esterhazy.

In the century and a half following Haydn's death, the liturgical use of his masses fell into disfavour, the Viennese Classical style in which they were written being regarded as too "secular" for church usage. However, the ever increasing banality of most contemporary liturgical music has led us to appreciate the elevated style of these compositions anew and see in them the sincere expression of faith of a devout Christian composer, one who commenced most of his manuscripts (regardless of genre) with the ascription "*In nomine Domini*" and concluded them with a grateful "*Laus Deo*". Indeed, Haydn lavished on these masses every element of artistry and beauty of which he was capable, as being the only offering worthy of the Creator God who had invested him with so many gifts.

To celebrate his life and achievements, therefore, we hope to perform all but the last three of his masses (which are simply too large to mount liturgically in St Michael's) during this liturgical year. Whether we manage all will depend on the success of our fundraising activities, but we commenced the series, in faith, on Advent Sunday 2008 the high mass being sung to the little ***Missa Rorate coeli desuper***, the earliest known work of the composer, being given its first South African performance..

The next of the masses to be sung was the much loved ***Missa Sancti Nicolai***, written for Prince Nicolaus' name day (6<sup>th</sup> December), probably in the year 1772, which was sung at the high mass on Christmas morning. The soloists were Magdalene Minnaar, Violina Anguelov, Willem Bester and Paul de Thierry.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> February, being the Sunday within the octave of the Feast of the Presentation (Candlemas), the high mass was sung to the ***Missa brevis in F*** (*Jugendmesse*), another youthful work, written for two soprano soloists and chorus. The soloists were Magdalene Minnaar and Violina Anguelov.

The glorious Easter high mass featured the equally glorious - even grand - ***Missa Cellensis*** ("*Mariazeller-Messe*"), a work commissioned in 1782 and intended as a votive offering to the celebrated pilgrimage church at Zell, in Styria. It is a large scale composition, presaging the symphonic character of the late masses, and is notable for its ebullient fugal writing. The soloists were Magdalene Minnaar, Janelle Visagie, Willem Bester and Njabulo Mthimkulu. As far as could be established, this was the first South African performance of this work.

The 31<sup>st</sup> May 2009, the actual bicentenary of the composer's death, was fortuitously also the Feast of Whitsunday, the annual commemoration of the outpouring on the Church of the Holy Ghost, the Inspirer. The high mass was sung to the elegantly crafted ***Missa Sancti Joannis de Deo*** (*Kleine Orgelmesse*). The work

derives its sobriquet from the extensive duet of the Benedictus, in which the soprano solo (sung by Magdalene Minnaar) is paired with a glittering organ obligato (played by the Organ Scholar, Gareth Baard).

After a slight mid-year break, the series continued on Sunday, the 16th of August with what is believed to be another first South African performance: the *Missa in honorem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae*, commonly known as the *Grosse Orgelmesse*. It is not an "organ mass" of course, having an extensive orchestral score which, unusually, includes a pair of cor anglais. The nickname refers to the *concertante* solo writing given to the organ; a part altogether more virtuosic than the equivalent in the *M. Sti. Joannis de Deo*, which explains the latter's designation as the "Little" and the former's as the "Great" Organ Mass. The soloists were Beverley Chiat, Violina Anguelov, Willem Bester and Njabulo Mthimkulu and the glittering organ part was played by Grant Brasler.

On the Sunday in the Octave of Michaelmas, 4th October, we continued the celebration of the parish Patronal Festival with a High Mass sung to the *Missa in tempore belli* ("Mass in time of War"), nicknamed the *Paukenmesse* because of its prominent use of timpani. Fr Duncan Mclea from Christ Church, Kenilworth was the guest preacher and a capacity congregation experienced a worthy account of the splendid score, with Beverley Chiat, Violina Anguelov, Willem Bester and Barend van der Westhuizen as soloists. The motet was Richard Dering's superb *Factum est silentium*. Depicting the battle in which Michael overcomes the Dragon, it served to underscore why this setting - *in tempore belli* - is so appropriate for this feast and might well explain why the first performance at Eisenstadt took place on the Feast of St Michael.

We intend to conclude the series with the *Missa Sancti Bernardi de Offida* (*Heiligmesse*), which will be sung at the high mass on 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov 2009, the Feast of Christ the King and the last Sunday of the church's year.

A separate choir, The Choir of the Haydn Project, has been formed for this purpose. This group, which is distinct from the church choir (although it does have members in common) will practice on Tuesday nights between 7.30pm and 9.00pm. It is hoped that this time will prove especially convenient to parents with young children. Persons interested in auditioning for this choir are invited to contact the organist, Deon Irish, at the email address given below or through the parish office.

Members of the choir are: Karen Williams, Lorna Maneveld, Katherine Moon, Melanie Frye, Catherine Hall, Sarah Archer, Pamela Kierman, Joyce Francis, Linda Farlam, Chris Woolnough, Merlin McDonald, Chris Everett, Theo Rousseau, Stephen Philps, Richard Pimm, Kevin Rorke, Sean Kierman.

Most importantly, we cannot successfully complete this project without raising considerable funding. If you are in a position to assist in this regard, any contribution would be most gratefully received. Please contact either the Organist or the Rector in this regard.

*The Haydn Project* [<http://www.stmichael.org.za/index.php/music/the-haydn-project>] accessed 6 February 2011.